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- Khatri, Sridhar K. 2001. "Teaching of International Relations in Nepal." *Contributions to Nepalese Studies*, 28:2, pp 139-154.
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Each figure, drawing or photograph should fit into the area of 11 × 16 cm maximum. Captions should be in italics.

MĀNADEVA SAMVAT : AN INVESTIGATION INTO AN HISTORICAL FRAUD

Kamal P. Malla

Nullius in verba

Don't take anybody's words for granted.

Motto of the Royal Society, London

There is no Mānadeva II, King or Feudatory

Between Gaṇadeva (Samvat 479-487) and śivadeva I (Samvat 512-535) there is no king named Mānadeva. Although the gap is of about 25 years, there is no trace of “Mānadeva II” in Maṅgal Bazār, Pāṭan inscription of Bhāravi, dated Samvat 492, nor in Deśabhaṭṭarika’s śaṅkhamūla inscription, dated Samvat 495. Had there been an outstanding king, able to found an epoch era with a name, Mānadeva, this era should have been used, by śivadeva I, in his Viṣṇupādukā Phedi inscription of Samvat 512. At least, Jayadeva II’s Paśupati inscription dated Samvat 157 should have mentioned him if there were an illustrious king able to found an epoch era which Jayadeva II himself had used.

“Mānadeva II” in the *Nepālavaṃśāvalī*, Kirkpatrick, Lévi etc., is clearly a result of scribal error which has been handed down to all the 19th century *Bhaṣāvaṃśāvalīs*. This is quite clear from the comparison of the details mentioned about Gaṇadeva in the *Gopālarājavaṃśāvalī* and of “Mānadeva II” in *Nepālavaṃśāvalī*, i.e., Gaṇadeva>Manadeva>Mānadeva. Based on Kirkpatrick’s summary of the *Nepālavaṃśāvalī*, Lévi wrote,

Between Udayadeva and Gaṇadeva (Gaṇakāmadeva), the Vaṃśāvalis place Mānadeva II, under this reign Nepal suffered for three years from a terrible drought; Mānadeva brought an end to it by offering all his treasures to Paśupati. The Vaṃśāvalī of Kirkpatrick alone registers this tradition (Lévi, 1905 Vol II: 121).

This conclusion of Lévi is based on the following summary by Kirkpatrick, in his “Historical Sketch of Nepal”,

Maun Deo (the 2nd) 45 in whose reign Nepal was afflicted during three years with a severe drought, which ceased on the Rajah’s propitiating the god Pusputty by an oblation of all his reaches (1811: 260).

This summary by Kirkpatrick, in turn, is based on the following entry in the *Nepālavaṃśāvalī*,

*Rājā śrīmānadeva varṣa 45//tena paśupatibhāṭṭarakāya varṣa trayam
nāvṛṣṭiḥ vṛṣṭiākaraṣanāmma koṣaṃ maṇiyuktaṃca dattavān//* (folio 5b
lines 3- 6)

This entry in NV is based on the misreading of the following entry in the *Gopālarājavaṃśāvalī*,

*Rājāśṛṅganadeva varṣa 45// tasya rājyem nepālabhūmi varṣatrayam
anāvṛṣṭi vāriṣovṛṣṭi ākāṃkṣaṇāya kāmanenaḥ śṛipaśupatibhāṭṭarikāya
mahānāga nirjityāḥ tasya maṇiyukte gaṇadeva nāma koṣa kritam
praḍhokitam tatprabhāvāt mahāvṛṣṭi kritam prajā sukhi bhavati//*
(folio 21a line 4- 21b line 1)

At least from that point onward, the contamination of the *Vaṃśāvalī* tradition goes on uninterrupted. Beginning with Pandit Guṇānanda's (A.D.1829) work (Wright, 1877), to the *Vaṃśāvalīs* compiled in the 1890s, most of them invariably insert a king named Mānadeva as a son of Udayadeva, between Udayadeva and Gaṇadeva (or the chronicler's Guṇakāmadeva). In Siddhimān Siṃha Basnet's work (dated A.D. 1878), published under the title *Rājabhogamālā* (the National Archives Cat. No IV 332, another copy in Leo E. Rose collection in the Berkeley Campus, University of California), this insertion is visibly done with the help of a correction mark at the bottom of folio 45a line 13, where the King's name is corrupted to Rājā Maṇdeva with a rule of 53 years. In the Kaiser Library, there is an interesting vernacular chronicle (No 9/1276) offered to General Kaiser by Pandit Rāmnāth Cālise of Mahottari. Here King Mānadeva is recorded as the son of Udayadeva, with 25 as reginal years. Similarly, another text of *Bhāṣā Vaṃśāvalī* (last record A.D. 1877) in our personal collection has the following entry,

śrīmānadeva, years of rule 45. On hearing the former story of Vir Vikramāditya Sen, the King re- introduced the Vikram Saṃvat all over the eastern and western dominions and made it famous everywhere. (folios 91- 92)

Nearly the same text appears in the *Bhāṣā Vaṃśāvalī* Part II edited by Lamsal (1966:1) where the King appears as Rājā Nandadeva, with only 13 years' rule. Since every well- to- do family in Nepal has a copy of such chronicles the contamination went on multiplying with every new copyist, almost *ad absurdum*.

Manadeva Saṃvat: A Bogus Interpolation in the Text

“Mādevābda 304” is clearly a bogus interpolation in both the British Museum copy and the National Archives copy of *Sumatitantra*. There the interpolation, a faint line in a later hand inserted at the bottom of the page, is all too evident. The correction mark, a *hamṣapāda* at the top as well as at the bottom of the line 5 following the punctuation mark which concludes the line ending in *rāja krameṇatu*, is clearly visible. The post - colophon stray folio has “Mānndevsya rājyābda 304” by a recent scribe. In the British Museum copy, this is a prose line in the midst of verses in Anustubha metre. Probably, it is an elaboration of a verse similar to the modern *Sūrya Siddhānta*, Chapter I:23 which enjoins that

In the present twenty- eighth , Age, this Golden Age is past : from this point, reckoning up the time, one should compute together the whole number. (Burgess, 1860/1997: 13.)

As *Sumatitantra* is a *tantra*, its six ways of calculating *ahargaṇa* (literally, total number of mean civil days elapsed since the beginning of the Kali) begins from the start of the Kali Yuga, expressing the expired years of the Kali as “*bhaviṣyam sampravakṣāmi kalikañca yathākramam*” i.e. “introducing the future Kali years in a sequence.”

śaṅkaranārāyaṇa (ca. A.D. 825-900) of Quilon, in Kerala, rose to eminence through his commentary on *Laghubbāṣkariya*, and later appointed chief court astronomer of Ravivarman of the Cera dynasty of Kerala. He quotes a verse from ācārya Sumati in his *Vivaraṇa* on *Laghubbāṣkariya* (dated A.D. 869), in connection with lunar and solar eclipses, ten years before the so- called Mānadeva Saṃvat 304. This line is clearly an interpolation in the *Sumatitantra* texts. These texts give the mean positions of the planets of mid- night of Saturday/Sunday, March 20/21, 505 A.D. in Avanti.

The *Sumatitantra* gives an R- Sine Table with 90 divisions of a quadrant, one for each degree of the arc. It is sometimes accurate up to the 12th decimal place (e.g., 889 for 15°, 1790 for 30°, 2431 for 45°, 2977 for 60°) whereas for other degrees the text only gives round figures by ignoring decimal points lower than 0.50, (e.g., 3321 for 75°). Most classics on Indian astronomy dated before Vateśvara (b.800 A.D.) give 24 Sines for a quadrant , with the value of Radius= 3438. This is so in *Paitāmaha Siddhānta*, Aryabhaṭa I, Brahmagupta, Lalla, and modern *Sūrya Siddhānta*. The Sines for other degrees can, of course, be derived on the basis of the 24 Sine tables, and smaller decimal points are inevitable if lesser arcs are taken as units. Varāhamihira, on the other hand, gives Sines for a radius of 120 with 225” seconds as interval. As

the table differs from all others, including the one given by Varāhmihira, the text of *Sumatitantra* seems to be infested with interpolations by later hands.

Of the two available copies of the text, the copy in the National Archives is by three different hands, copied for the second time, as mentioned clearly in its colophon. In the British Museum copy, there are a number of folios with lines erased, added, and the whole folios erased after having copied them. A number of folios are also blank. A number of folios are post-colophon, such as 121a-b, 122a-b, 123a-b. The folio 124a-b has no corresponding equivalent in the National Archives copy. At the end of it comes another colophon which dates the text to 16 days later. The first colophon dates the text on *Samvat 476 Pauṣa śukla 9*; the second one dates on *Samvat 476 Pauṣa Kṛṣṇa 10*. There are 124 folios in this recension. All folios are numbered in letters consecutively on the left hand side and in numerals on the right hand side.

In the National Archives copy, on the other hand, there are 152 folios; folio 13a 13b are missing, and after 15a there are 3 folios which are unrelated to the context. Upto 143b folio there is consecutive numbering— first in letters upto folio 62b, then in decimal numerals up to the end. Decimal numbering is also used in the main text. This corrupt and contaminated manuscript is copied at least by two different hands on two different kinds of palm.

Unlike the popular Caitrādi expired śaka (computed from Tuesday, March 3, 78 A.D.) the so-called “Mānadeva Samvat” is none other than Kārttikādi current śaka which is to be computed from Thursday, October 18, 76 A.D. Kārttikādi śaka was also prevalent in Saurāṣṭra. It is referred to by Bhāṣkara I (A.D. 550-629) in his *āryabhatīya-bhāṣya* (folio 127 of the transcript from the two manuscripts in Malayalam script in the collection of the Government Library of Oriental Manuscripts, Madras, No R- 14850). First used by Aṃśuvarma and his successors, it is a *lokakāla*, with 500 dropped from the total current year. śaka Samvat, the astronomer’s era *par excellence*, too, was a *lokakāla*, begun with the figure for century left out in computation. Al-Biruni notes,

Common people in India date by the years of a *centennium* which they call *saṃvatsara*. If a *centennium* is finished, they drop it, and simply begin to date by a new one. This era is called *lokakāla* i.e., the era of the nation at large. But of this era people give such totally different accounts, that I have no means of making out the truth.

(Sachau, 1910, II; Chapter XLVIII.)

All current eras begin 1 year before the expired one. In Kārttikādi samvat, Kārttika comes before Caitra whereas in Caitrādi samvat Caitra comes before Kārttika. Only five months are common to both the systems i.e., Kārttika,

Mārgaśīrṣa, Pauṣa, Māgha, Phālguna, whereas uncommon ones are Caitra, Vaiśākha, Jyeṣṭha, āṣāḍha, śrāvaṇa, Bhādra, and āśvina. So the conversion of one era into another is not such a simplistic addition/subtraction arithmetical operation as made of it by some “authorities” (See Bhandari, *Purāṇimā*, 103, VS 2058 Pauṣa, pp. 2-13).

Aṃṣuvarmā, most likely under the influence of Harṣa Saṃvat which is also Kārttikādi, current, and *amānta*, began to use the then prevalent era with 500 left out since year 529. So far, in the last 144 years, we have not found a single inscription dated between Samvat 1 to 28. Nor is there any reasonable argument for launching an epoch era with Saṃvat 29. Obviously, Aṃṣuvarmā just dropped the figure for hundreds and used the current epoch era. Several scholars had speculated such a possibility as early as Bhagwanlal Indraji (1885:45). Aṃṣuvarmā makes it more than clear when he installs a gold repousse *kvaca* image of Garuḍanārāyaṇa at Cāngu where the date is mentioned as

*Oṃ ekatriṃśattme varṣe vartamāne svasaṃsthayā
māghaśuklatrayodaśyāmpuṣyeṇa saviturdine*

The late Dhanavajra Vajrācārya as well as his guru, the late Pandit Nayarāja Pant, was both unable to interpret the correct meaning of the words *vartamane* and *svasaṃsthayā* because both believed in the so-called “Mānadeva Saṃvat.” They thought that the words qualified the *kavaca*, set up at present, rather than the epoch era. The current epoch years are qualified with words such as *pravartmāne* or *vartamāne* whereas expired ones are prefixed or followed by words such as *gate*, *atite*, *pratite*, *yute* etc. (On the subject of current year and expired year and their conversion, (See Sewell and Dikshit 1896:40; Pillai, 1922: 52–53; Ketkar, 1923: 18–19)

When Franz Kielhorn calculated 200 Vikrama Saṃvat inscriptions with weekdays from India and 29 Nepāla Saṃvat inscriptions with weekdays from Nepal, he found that some are verifiable as current years and others as expired ones, while a number of inscriptions, both from India and Nepal, have irregular dates that cannot be verified (Kielhorn, 1890, January: 20–40; June: 160–187, and November: 354–374; September: 1888, 246–253)

Of the 29 Nepalese inscriptions with weekday, examined and computed by Kielhorn, 4 have years mentioned as expired. The words used are *gate*, *prayāte*, *yāte*, *yute*, 19 have expired years without any appellation; and 2 are dated according to current year, without mentioning this. Others were irregular ones. In the case of the Vikrama Era, of the 200 inscriptions Kielhorn examined, 50 have irregular dates: some are regular by one siddhānta, irregular by another; some dates are doubtful readings; some are with a wrong weekday; some will work only if the immediately following

year is taken into consideration. Some tally only if the preceding year is considered. Some work with *amāntamāna* others with *pūrṇimāntmāna*; both also have Southern and Northern variety. All these variations in dating the inscriptions are dated in the Vikrama Saṃvat.

It will, therefore, be a naive generalization if we assume that in all the Licchavi inscriptions, particularly with intercalation, the dates are all regular, uniform, and absolutely flawless renderings and readings. Not all the inscriptions are uniformly preserved. There is a serious problem of illegible and variant readings by different epigraphists – both in the case of numerals and ligatures (e.g., where Gnoli read Gaṇadeva, Dhanavajra reads Gaṅgādeva, in Capaligaon Inscription, dated Saṃvat 489 śrāvaṇa śukla 12). In some inscriptions or documents the same epoch year may be expired whereas in others they can be verified only as current years. This task is made less than surmountable by the fact that of the 200+ Licchavi inscriptions, only 2 have weekdays.

The current year begins with month 1 year 1, whereas the expired one begins with 0 year, day 1 of month 1 and becomes year 1 and month 13th in the 13th month only. As most inscriptions in Nepal or India do not *explicitly* mention whether the given year is current one or expired one, the only way to ascertain a given date is to compute all the available elements of *pañcāṅga*, i.e., *tithi*, *vāra*, *nakṣatra*, *karāṇa*, and *yoga*, if they are explicitly mentioned in an inscription. As Pillai puts it,

The weekday is the crucial test in the vast majority of verifiable Indian dates and in the absence of a weekday, an Indian date is usually pronounced unverifiable; unless there is an eclipse on that date. Where we have a date that merely gives a *tithi*, a *nakṣatra*, and a year without the week- day, we say that the day cannot be verified, i.e., proved free from the probability of error, because every year must contain such a *tithi*, and such a *nakṣatra*, we cannot assert with any degree of confidence that the year- data is free from error (Pillai, 1922: 4–5).

Or as Ketkar puts it,

Citations about *Saṃvatsaras*, months, *tithis* are not sufficient for the determination of a date. Details about the era; whether the *saṃvat* is current at the *Meṣādi* or at date; whether the date is expired or current; whether *Caitrādi* or *Kārtikādi*; whether the date is derived from the *Sūrya Siddhānta* or *Arya Siddhānta*, these details should be clearly and fully made out *before commencing the calculation*. These

are the uncertainties that often beset the work of an epigraphist (Ketkar, 1923:80-81).

Unfortunately for us, there are only two documents from ancient Nepal, one the gold repousse inscription dated Current Kārttikādi Saṃvat 31 Māgha śukla 13 Sunday when the Moon was in Puṣya nakṣatra (verified by Regmi, 1983: 268, for Sunday, February 4, 608, A.D.); the second one, a colophon dated Expired Kārttikādi Saṃvat 301 Vaiśākha śukla 7 Sunday, while the Moon was in Puṣya Nakṣatra and the Yoga was Siddha (verified by Petech, 1984:29 for Sunday 13, 878, A.D.; wrongly verified for Sunday April 23, 878 A.D. by Regmi, 1983: 268; but rightly verified by himself for A.D. 878 April 13, Sunday on p. 23) We believe that these two documents with weekdays were verified by the two historians by using Pillai's tables (1911/1922). We have also cross-checked both the dates by using Jacobi, 1892, Sewell and Dikshit, 1896, Ketkar, 1923, and Sewell, 1926. Except for a small variation of a few *ghatikās* and *palas*, their verifications are found as correct ones.

Of all the newly found Licchavi inscriptions, just a little over a dozen in the last 33 years, none has a weekday. Even if all other elements of Hindu calendar are mentioned, such as *nakṣatra* or *muhūrta* as in Cāngu Inscription of Mānadeva, dated Saṃvat 386 *Jyestha śukla Pratipad, Abhijit muhūrta*, with the Moon in the *Rohiṇi nakṣatra*, its date cannot be verified as totally free from error, because such astronomical conjunctions are not rare. So the late Pundit Nayarāj Pant's claim that he successfully calculated the date of this inscription on the basis of *Jyautiṣa vedāṅga* does not carry any significance. Similar claims had been made in the past by other authorities using different *siddhāntas*, and epoch eras.

For instance, Shankar Man Rājvaṃśī calculated these two Licchavi documents with weekdays by using his own theory of a Licchavi Era founded 22 years before the founding of śaka Era in 78 A.D. He came out with the following startling results: A.D. 442 April 27 Monday for Mānadeva's Cāngu inscription, A.D.584 February 19 Sunday for the Aṃśuvarma's repousse inscription, and A.D. 854 April 6 Sunday for the colophon of the *Sauśruti Saṃhitā Sahottaratantra*. He claimed that all the elements given in the inscription and the colophon match perfectly well with his own theory of the Licchavi Era founded in A.D. 56 and Aṃśuvarma Era founded in A.D. 552.(Rājvaṃśī: 1970:43–47.). In his *magnum opus*: NR Pant himself wrote,

In the past, all have claimed that they had verified the date in the Cāngu inscription of Mānadeva. Such date occurs 6–7 times within a century. So it is clear that conclusions cannot be drawn on the basis of such computations of dates (NR Pant et al., 1987:556).

The Tibetan Text does not Mention “Mānadeva II”

Among the so- called four evidences in support of the “Mānadeva Saṃvat,” the Tibetan text does not mention Mānadeva at all. On the contrary, bSo nams rtse mo (A.D.1142–1182) mentions that Aṃśuvarma counted years from śaka 438 (probably a misinterpretation for 498, resulting out of misreading *candra* for *randhra*, because *candra* also means 3), and 242 years after the appearance of Aṃśuvarma, King Khri gtsugs lde btsan (Ral pa cen) came to power. The relevant quote from the text is the following:

The Buddha entered womb in the fire- rabbit year and was born in the iron- dragon year. He got the perfect enlightenment in the water- tiger year and entered Nirvana in the process of beginning the earth- mouse year (2133 B.C.). 137 years later, King Nanda appeared. This account occurred in *Tarkajvālā* (=Toh.3856). After 800 years from this King, Candragupta appeared. 132 years after him, King śūdraka appeared. After him, counting years, when 274 years passed by, the Nepalese continued to count years after it, and still after 438 (498 ?) years, King Aṃśuvarman appeared. After him, by counting years, when 242 years passed by , it reaches King Khri gtsugs lde btsan’s reign. (bSod names rtse mo:1968: folio 315b line 1– folio 316a line 4.)

Instead of lending support to “Mānadeva Saṃvat” this chronology completely falsifies it. Among Tibetan historians, there is a controversy as to when Ral pa cen actually came to power, in A.D. 814 (*The Blue Annals* by gZon nu dpal, compiled in A.D. 1476–78), or in 817 (*Bod kyi rgyal rabs*, compiled by Gras pa rgyal mtshan, in A.D.1545), or in A.D.823 (*Chos b’yung*, compiled by Buston, in 1322). The short chronology is based on the Buddha’s Nirvana in the year 2133 B.C. bSo nams rtse mo says that he noted down the chronology from the colophon of the Tibetan translation of Vālaviveka’s (ca.450 A.D.) *Tarkajvālā* done by Atiśa and Jayaśīla (*Nag lo cha ba*). It cannot, however, be traced in the T’angur, dbu- ma No 3856= Toh (or mDo Edition XIX 2 K 96/5256/19- 4- 7 on folio 40B7–329B2).

In Tibet, prior to the adoption of the system based on *Kālacakratāntra*, derived from the 60- year cycle of Jupiter, there was a calendar named *me- kha- gya- tsho* (Skt. *agni- ambara- abdhi*, i.e., 403). As Lévi puts it,

the word is a compound of numeral symbols: *me*, the fire, expresses 3; *kha*, the space, 0; *gya- tsho*, the lakes, 4; *me kha gya tsho* signifies 403. Read according to the Indo- Tibetan method, *me kha gya tsho* signified 403, and 403 deducted from A.D. 1025 would then be A.D. 622. But I have already more than once pointed out to what extent

these expressions in numerical symbols lend themselves to inversion of figures. If one rephrases the hypothesis as *Kha me gya- tsho* one will read 430 instead of 403. It is the very date I was led to by astronomical calculation to the year A.D. 595 as the epoch year of the Thakuri Era (Lévi, 1905: II:154).

Lévi refers to one of the fundamental rules of Indian chronology, *anikānāṃ vānto gatiḥ*, according to which the figures rendered by indicative words are to be counted backward, but the Tibetan historical tradition began to adopt this tradition only since mid- seventeenth century. So we have to calculate the numeral nominals according to the sequence of the given words. It would have resulted in (A.D. 1025- 304) A.D. 622– the date of founding of Hijri Era (July 15, 622 A.D.). That date would have upset Lévi's own theory.

Petech's Puppet Theory

The authenticity of this theory is just as doubtful as Luciano Petech's own "puppet theory". He claims that Aṃśuvarma launched this epoch era by placing on the throne a puppet of his- - a "Mānadeva II." In his own words,

In 576 Aṃśuvarman, then the man behind the throne, installed a puppet of his, Mānadeva, followed later by Guṇakāmadeva. Both are mentioned in Kirkpatrick's *varṇāvali* as the immediate predecessors of śivadeva... Then śivadeva was placed on the throne. But in 606 he was deposed or died, and Aṃśuvarman began to rule without a puppet king, employing (or starting) the era of his first protégée Mānadeva.... The Mānadeva of 576 was the first Buddhist king (Petech, 1961:230).

Why would an ambitious regent use his puppet's epoch era is none too clear to us. In the whole Indian sub- continent there is hardly any evidence of a feudatory under a paramount ruler launching an epoch era.

Nayarāj Pant's Vintage Theory : Mahāsāmanta Mānadeva II

The above theory is as good as Nayarāj Pant's vintage theory that "Mānadeva II," the imaginary founder of the epoch era, was a powerful *mahāsāmanta*, not a king.

In A.D. 576, when the reigning Kings were too weak, the chief feudatory (*mahāsāmanta*) Manadeva II, took power in his own hands and also founded an epoch era. This epoch era is known as Mānadeva Samvat. Its use continued for 300 years (Pandey and Pant, 1947: 13–14).

The Rājaguru's Theory: Epoch Era of Mānadeva I

Similarly, the late Hem Rāj Pāndey thought that the epoch era mentioned in *Sumatitantra* was founded by Mānadeva I. "The Rājaguru was of the opinion that this Mānadeva for whom he supplied the date from the manuscript was the Mānadeva of Cāngu Nārāya and that it proved a Mānadeva Era which was the era used by Aṃśuvarma" - a theory which Kāshi Prasād Jayaswāl politely turned down (1936:36).

Distorting these historical facts, Nayarāj Pant and his school enlist the name of Hemrāj Pāndey as the first proposer of the so-called "Mānadeva Samvat". Clearly, he was not proposing a Mānadeva II; he was proposing Mānadeva I as the founder of a new epoch era in śaka 498/A.D. 576.

The Historian- Laureate's Theory : the Non-existent Rupavarmā

Almost similar is the nature of the late Historian- Laureate Kharidār Bāburām Acārya's theory that Mānadeva Saṃvat was founded by Aṃśuvarma in the memory of his father, Rupavarmā who *probably* belonged to the royal line of Vṛṣadeva! (Acharya, 1949:8). He continued to believe in this theory in his essay on "Nepal's Relations with China and Tibet," where he wrote,

In Nepal, upto A.D. 576, all political power was controlled by the Ābhīras. In this very year Rupavarmā took the support of a Licchavi prince born in that family and suppressed the Ābhīras. Around A.D. 587 Aṃśuvarma became a ruler succeeding the Licchavi prince. In A.D. 606 the coronation of Aṃśuvarma took place, and he founded a new epoch-era beginning from A.D. 576. (Ācārya, 1956:8- 9).

Ācārya fails to explain why Aṃśuvarma did not launch his epoch era from Year 1. We are kept in dark about what happened during the interval of Year 1 and 28. In an interview he gave to Professor T.R. Vaidya, the late Dhanavajra Vajracārya, Bāsudeva Tripathi and Churāmani Bandhu, on April 23, 1970 at his residence, Acārya says,

In Saṃvat 528 Aṃśuvarma came to power. After that for the convenience of computation, he dropped the century figure 5 and continued with number 28 and so on (Sharma, Vajracarya and Thakur, 1973:24-25).

Ācārya names the Saṃvat used by Mānadeva and his successors as Kośānu Saṃvat and the one used Aṃśuvarma and his successors by dropping the century figure "Later Kośānu Saṃvat". Thus, in complete defiance of Āchārya's views as well as Hemrāj Pāndey's view, Nayarāj Pant and his

school enlist both Bāburām Acharya and Hemarāj Pandey as the co-propounders of the so-called “Mānadeva Saṃvat”. The Pants have been hitherto cashing in on this concocted historical fraud. These distortions of facts were solely motivated by the urge to prove all other scholars wrong and himself and his school alone as right in everything they publish.

Pandit Nayarāj’s Theory of “Mānadeva Saṃvat”

While there is such a disappointing confusion among eminent scholars, NR Pant boldly wrote in the Preface to their edition/transcription of the *Sumatitantra*:

Sumatitantrasyopalambhādamaṃsuvarmaḍibhiḥ prayuktaḥ saṃvatsaro mānadevasaṃvatsara iti naipālakā vidvāṃsaḥ svcakruḥ (Pant et al. 1978:27).

As attested in the *Sumatitantra*, the Mānadeva Saṃvat used by Aṃśuvarma and his successors is accepted by all Nepali scholars.

This is only a happy conclusion arrived at by a *mahāvidyāvāridhi*.

While we were working on a facsimile edition of the *Gopalarājavarṇasāvalī* in 1984, we realized the need of verifying Mānadeva II Saṃvat for preparing an acceptable chronology of the Licchavis. (See Vajracārya and Malla, 1985: 235). Vajracārya already had doubts about a Mānadeva II, so that “it is somewhat inconvenient to call this epoch era as Mānadeva Saṃvat. But we have not been able to ascertain what happened during the time between śaka saṃvat 498 and 512” (Vajracārya, 1973: 299-300). Although both the editors had reservations on this issue, we let it go. In a couple of later publications as well, we saw no need to check the sources, particularly the Tibetan, because we took the words of a well-known Tibetologist and those of N.R. Pant for granted. Now we realize how wrong both of us were in assuming that there was a “Mānadeva II” who launched an epoch era in A.D. 576! This paper is only a small *prāyaścitta* for this big mistake.

Historical Facts and Sumatitantra’s Figures

The British Museum copy of the *Sumatitantra* has the following lines,

*Jāto duryodhano rājā kalisāndhyam pravartate/
Yudhiṣṭhiro mahārājō duryodhanastayopi vā//
Ubhau rājau sahasre dve varṣantu sampravarttati/*

*Nandarājyaṃ śataśṭaīca ścandraguptastatopare/
Rājyaṅkaroti tenāpi dvātriṃśaccādhikaṃ śatam/
Rāja śudrakadevaśca varṣasaptābdhi cāśvinou//
śakarāja tatopaścādvaturandhra kritantathā/
Ityate bhāṣitam mahyaṃ jñāyā rāja krameṇa tu//
Seṣa yutaśca kṛta ambarāgni 304 śrī mānadevābda pruyjyamānā etāni
piṇḍa kali- varṣamāhuḥ// (Folio 2b- 3a)*

The above text has been transcribed, translated, and interpreted differently by different Nepali and foreign historians of Nepal, depending upon how, for instance, one translates the word, *sampravarttate*. Yet the fact remains that not a single of the figures for the six epoch eras mentioned in the *Sumatitantra* – (Yudhiṣṭhira 2000, Nanda 800, Candragupta 132, śudraka 247, śaka 498, and Mānadeva 304) matches with the known historical facts. In the first place, it is not clear from the various translations of the word *sampravarttate* whether these figures refer to the duration of *the rule of a king* (as the text intends?), or of *the dynasty* (as Petech thought), or of *the use of the epoch year* (as the Pants think). If the intention was to specify the duration of a King's reign or rule (as suggested by *candraguptastatopare//rājyaṅkaroti tenāpi dvātriṃśaccādhikaṃ śatam//*), i.e., thereafter Candragupta will rule for 132 years, then it is clearly a pious fabrication. Jayaswāl, who first published this text in 1936, claimed ,

It is clear that the author of the chronology took chief reigns as landmarks, and not always eras. There were Yudhiṣṭhira Era, Nanda, and śaka Eras, but there was no Chandragupta Era, there was no Sudraka Era. There is no trace of an Era of Mānadeva I (Jayaswāl, 1936:42).

If the intention of the scribe was to indicate the *duration* of an epoch year, implying that śaka Saṃvat will last upto 498 only, clearly śaka Saṃvat continued to be used in Licchavi inscriptions from Saṃvat 512 to 535 by śivadeva and to Saṃvat 536, side by side with the so- called “Mānadeva Era” by Aṃśuvarma.

As known to modern historians, much of ancient Indian history before the invasion of Alexander the Great (328-326 B.C.) is mostly a core of hard facts surrounded by a thick pulp of disputable interpretations of the extant literary and archeological sources. Mahāpadma Nanda, the founder of the Nanda dynasty, ruled between ca. 362- 320. B.C. Candragupta Maurya , between ca. 321- 298 B.C. The Sātavāhan dynasty, founded by King Simuka, ruled between ca. 50 B.C. to 250 A.D. śudraka, the founder of Andhra Dynasty, ruled between ca. A.D. 350- 400. The Scythian Kuṣāṇas or śakas, used at

least three different eras. The first one was founded in 123 B.C., using Macedonian months and Greco- Chaldean method of date recording. In the first three centuries of their rule, the śakas used the old era with hundreds omitted. But they also began to use Indian months and Kharoṣṭhī script. The classical śaka era, starting from Tuesday, March 3, A.D. 78, is nothing but the old śaka era, starting from 123 B.C. with 200 omitted, so that the year 1 of Kaniṣka is year 201 of the old śaka era, though the qualification, śalivāhana, is attached to it much later. This epoch year itself is a *lokakāla*, an abridged one for śaka 201. Jayaswāl, who first published the *Sumatitantra* chronology was not too sure of its historical relevance because,

The year for the commencement of the Nanda- Rājya was hopelessly wide off the mark. The dates for the commencement of the Maurya kingdom and the Śatavāhana kingdom are short by about 22 years. (Jayaswāl, 1936:42)

In Licchavi Nepal, śaka era continued to be used, with the figure for the centuries omitted, till the beginning of Nepāla Saṃvat. (For early Indian Chronology and Calendar, See R. Morton Smith, "Ancient Indian Chronology," *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. 77 No. 2 (1957), pp. 276- 280; Van Lohuizen de Leeuw, *The "Scythian" Period*. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1949; M.N. Saha, "Different Methods of Date Recording in Ancient and Medieval India, and the Origin of the śaka Era", *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, Letters Vol. XIX No 1, 1953; Etienne Lamotte, *Histoire du Bouddhisme Indien. Des origines à l' Era śaka*. Louvain: Institut Orientaliste de l' Université de Louvain, 1958, and David Pingree, "A Note on the Calendars Used in Early Indian Inscriptions." *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. 102 No. 2 (1982), pp. 355-359).

From the Beginning of the Kali to the Composition of the Text

Although it is a tantra based on mathematical astronomy, the framework of the *Sumatitantra* is purāṇic. M.R. Pant's excavation of a brahmaṛiṣṭ, named Sumati from among the mourners lined up at the deathbed of Bhīṣmapitāmaha in the Mahābhārata War is laudable on its own, but its use to defend the purāṇic veneer of the text is rather unfortunate. The purāṇic bias of the text is evident, not only from the opening verses, but also from its history, cosmogony, and geography.

The main function of the chronology planted in the *Sumatitantra* appears to be to add up to the total years lapsed between the beginning of the Kali Yuga (i.e., Friday 17/18 February 3101 B.C.) and the imagined date of composition of the text in question. The total comes out to be 3981 years, mainly to facilitate the computation of the *ahargana*. The historical use of

these figures is virtually nil because these figures are based on the Purāṇic lists of various dynasties of the Kali Yuga. Despite Pargiter's (1913) admirable patience in attempting to reconstruct an acceptable chronology out of these Purāṇic lists, there is a virtual chaos among various *purāṇas* and *upapurāṇas*. For example, *Matsya Purāṇa* says that Mahāpadma Nanda ruled for 88 years whereas *Vāyu Purāṇa* says that he ruled for 28 years. Pargiter, (1922:287) assigns 80 years to the Nandas, and *Sumatitantra* claims that the Nandas ruled for 800 years. No sensible historian can take these figures too seriously. However, N.R. Pant was so credulous about the authenticity of these figures that he quotes the *Sumatitantra* to give the date of Candragupta Maurya ! (See his *Hindu Siddhānta- Jyautiṣa ra Greek Siddhānta Jyautiṣako Tulanā* (1990: 10). This is only an example of N.R. Pant's sanguinity and complete uncritical faith in his sources. It is not for nothing that R.G. Collingwood wrote in his classic, *The Idea of History*, saying, "In so far as an historian accepts the testimony of an authority and treats it as historical fact, he obviously forfeits the name of historian; but we have no other name by which to call him." (1941:252).

Nepāla Saṃvat

Nepāla saṃvat was founded, not in the imaginary year 304, nor in śaka 802, as implied by *Sumatitantra*, but on Kārtika śukla Pratipad of current Saṃvat 303, i.e., Kārtikādi current śaka 803, i.e., on Tuesday, October 20, 879 A.D. On that day, the Moon was in the Anurādhā Nakṣatra for 20 hours and 23 minutes after the mean sunrise in Kathmandu, and śovana Yoga continued between lunation 1481- 1852. After the mean sunrise in Kathmandu, the śukla Pratipad tithi lasted for 22 hours 8 minutes. This date is 7 months later than the beginning of Caitrādi *expired* śaka 801. Lévi (1905, II:181-183) speculated that it was also a *lokakāla*, with 800 left out because the Nepalese thought that the number 8 was inauspicious.

The verses in the *Sumatitantra*, giving different fictitious numbers for different rulers, or eras, or the duration of a dynasty must have been an elaboration by a Nepali scribe, with a smattering of Jyautiṣavidyā, upon the original verse which probably gave a plain formula to arrive at the time duration between the beginning of the Kali and the composition of the given *Karāṇa*, not dissimilar to Chapter I Verse 23 of new *Sūrya Siddhānta* which explicitly enunciates: *ataḥ kālam prasaṅkhyāya saṅkhyāmekatra piṇḍyēt, i.e.,* add up *all* the past years between the present and the beginning of the Kali Yuga. At any rate, the figure 802, to be added or deducted from Nepāla Saṃvat to get an integer with śaka Saṃvat, is only a round figure for 801 year 7 months. This was necessary for all *pañcāṅga*- makers as well as for astronomers—the śaka era being the standard era in use among astronomers in India and Nepal.

A Likely Copyist : An Hypothesis

On the basis of a preliminary digital scanning of the manuscripts copied by Jayaśihamalla Varman and the British Museum copy of the *Sumatitantra*, one is tempted to believe that these figures were added by the copyist Jayaśihamalla Varman of Nhola Vihāra, in Pātan because he was also the author of *Sumati-karāṇa*, the transcriber of *Khaṇḍakhādyaka* (Cat III Vi 52, dated NS 470 Bhādrapada 2–3), *Bṛhajjātaka* (Cat. Vi 262, dated NS 471 śāvana sudi 4/5), *Bhojadevasaṃgraha* (dated NS 472 Kārttika Kṛṣṇa 5/6), and probably also of *Jyotirājakarāṇa* in the National Library (No 699 Vi 30, dated śaka 1304/ A.D. 1382, copied by a later hand in NS 543 Bhādra śukla 10/A.D.1423.). Assuming such high-flown *virudha* as *bhagnarājasthāpanārtha*// *lubdharājagajāṅkuśa*/ *śaraṇāgata vajrapañjarā*, he also copied some literary texts such as *Hariścandropākhyāna*, *Mahtrāvaṇavadha*, and Dharmagupta's *Rāmāṅkanāṭika*.

The Equation of Kanyādvīpa with Nepālamāṇḍala

The late Pandit Nayaraj believed that the author of the *Sumatitantra* gave the latitude of *his* country as 27 degrees and its longitude as 1 ghatikā and 58 pala (47.2 minutes East of the Prime Meridian). If N.R. Pant was right then he was so only if *Kanyādvīpa* or *Kaumārdvīpa*, *Kanyākhaṇḍa* or *Kanyākhyah* was a mythical name for Nepal. However, nowhere in the text the name of the country *Nepāla* is mentioned. On the contrary, in a chapter on *tripraśnādhikāra* (Time, Place, and Direction) Sumati says that of the nine divisions of Bhāratavarṣa,

Kanyādvīpa lies to the south of Mount Meru and on its southern end lies the Malaya mountain; there flows the river Lavanāśru, i.e., salty waters. It is ruled by King Bhujagāsana. At its foot lies Laṅkā, the home of demons, with walls and archways made of gold, studded with various wonderful metals. (Folio 48b verses 6-7 in the British Museum copy)

Vaṭeśvara (b. A.D. 880) writes in his *Siddhānta*,

Laṅkā (then northwards) *Kumārī*, then Kāñci, Māṇḍa, Āśvetapuri, then northwards, the śveta mountain, thereafter Vātsyagulma, the city of Avantī, then Gargarāṭa, Āśramapattana, Mālvanagara, Paṭṭaśiva, Rohitaka, Sthānviśvara, the Himalayan Mountains and lastly Meru, ... (these are situated on the prime meridian). For these places correction for longitude is not needed. (VS I.8. 1-2 in Kripa Shankar Shukla's translation).

śripati, (ca. A.D. 999) in his *Siddhanta-śekara* (II:995–996) lists the following places as lying on the prime meridian,

Lankā, *Kumārī*, Kāñci, Pānāta, Sitādri, ṣaḍāśya, Vatsagulma, Māhiṣmatī, Ujjayini, Paṭṭaśiva, Gargarāta, Rohita, Sthāṇiśvara, Sitāgiri, and Sumeru.

Do these geographical descriptions fit Nepal? Certainly not, nor is Nepālamaṇḍala ever considered as the Prime Meridian in Indian astronomy.

What N.R. Pant had done with the Sumati's text, in the name of emendation, is an indefensible act of convenient rewriting: N.R. Pant had rewritten the text to suit his theory,

*Kanyākhaṇḍaikaḥbhagasya dhṛtavarṇāāśramasthiteḥ/
Nepālādronyabhikhyasya deśasyāasya viśeṣataḥ//*
(Pant *et al.* 1978:14; 1987:128).

For the following in the Sumati's text where there is no mention whatsoever of the Nepal Valley :

Viśeṣena pravakṣyāmi kanyādvīpasya niścayaṃ

The *Sanskrit-Nepali Comprehensive Dictionary* published by Mahendra Sanskrit University, defines *Kumārīkāḥḍam* (based on the *Skandapurāṇa*) as the terrestrial division which was given as a share to the daughter of King śataśrīga, after having divided the earth among eight sons of his (Pandey, 2000:306).

No known text or dictionary of place- names, purāṇic or otherwise, calls Nepal the *Kanyādvīpa* or *Kaumāridvīpa*, *Kumārīkhaṇḍa* or *Kumārīkhyah*. According to Apte's *Practical Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, *Kumārīkāḥ* is the name of the southern extremity of the Indian peninsula. cf., the modern name Cape of Comorin (1957: 583).

If this is so, then the whole point of N.R. Pant's argument that *Kanyādvīpa*, *Kumāridvīpa*, *Kanyākhaṇḍa* is the Nepal Valley and that its latitude is 27 de_g s North of Equator and 1.58 *ghatikā* East of Ujjayini stands as unfounded.

Why would ācārya Sumati call his country *Kanyādvīpa* or *Kaumāridvīpa*, a sort of euphemism for a country when Nepal was an already known place-name by the time of Samudragupta (A.D. 335-374) in India, or Vasantadeva A.D. 504–530) in Nepal, not to mention the references in the classical Indian texts of great antiquity such as Kṛṣṇa- Dvaipayana Vyāsa's *Mahābhārata*, Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*, or Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra* or Varāhamihira's

Bṛhatsaṃhitā. *Nepāla*, certainly was not an unknown place- name at that time, nor was it a taboo word among the astronomers in the sub- continent (Malla, 1984b:63- 69). If by any chance, *Kanyādvīpa* or *Kaumāridvīpa* is Nepal, why cannot, for instance, the eastern region of Tibet be *Kanyādvīpa* because a 7th century Chinese source, *Fa-iouen- tchou- lin*, the famous *Encyclopedia of Buddhism* compiled and completed by Tao- cheu. in 668 A.D., notes the following about *Strirājya*,

Lately the orders of the (Chinese) Empire faded out of the Kingdom (of Nepal), and spread elsewhere in distant lands. Now, it is dependent on Tu- fan (Tibet). On the east, the Kingdom of Women is adjacent to Tu- fan.” (Lévi, 1900/1987: 60-61)

The Latitude and Longitude are of *Kanyādvīpa*, not of *Nepalamāṇḍala*
There are scores of cities which lie 27 degrees North of Equator or 47.2 minutes East of a given Prime Meridian. In calculating the longitude of so- called *Kanyādvīpa*, the NR Pant resorts to an equally odd expediency : he mixes up the figures from two different authorities, Varāhamihira (A.D. 550) and Lakṣmīpati (A.D. 1758-1831) to arrive at the desired longitude of 47.2 minutes East of Avanti. Varāhamihira’s longitude for Vārāṇasi, as computed from Alexandria, is 9 *ghatikā*, and for Avanti /Ujjaini, 7 *ghattikā* and 20 *pala* (9.00-7.20= 1.40=100 *pala*.). To these figures, N.R. Pant amputes Lakṣmīpati’s longitude for the Nepal Valley (19 *pala* for the Nepal Valley) to arrive at 2 *ghatikā* or 120 *pala*. All this quibbling with figures to suit one’s theory was totally unexpected of ‘a renowned mathematician,’ considered by some of his admirers as “the Socrates of Nepal.” Not dissimilar is his misleading calculation of the colophon of Saṃvat 301, where he added 1 to Saṃvat 301 and made it Saṃvat 302 by a stroke of the pen for *Vaiśakha Saptamī* in a *Kārttikādi* year (Pant *et al.* 1987:19; 125–135).

Sumati was not a Nepali

Nayarāj Pant claimed that Acārya Sumati composed his *tantra* in Nepal. In the wake of the nationalistic fervor of the 1960s, similar “nationalist” claims were also made by Pandit Buddhisaṅga Farājūti in his introduction to *Bṛhatsūcīpatram*, Vol. I (1960: gha) He wrote that both Gavastidīpa and Tāmradīpa were in Kāṣṭhamāṇḍapa because the *cara-prāṇa* (addition or subtraction of ascensional differences, between the meridian and a given latitude) for *Meṣādi* 6 rāśis in the *Sumatitantra* are identical with those given by astrologers in Nepal. He also claimed that the *Sauśruti- saṃhitā- Sahottaratantra* of Saṃvat 301 was copied during the reign of Mānadeva I (Parājūti, 1966:19–21). Similarly, a year later, Lamsāl (1967), an acārya in

Indian astronomy, wrote that the *Sumatitantra* is the pride of Nepal and that it was written at the time of Mānadeva I and that the *Meṣādi cara-prāṇa* i.e., ascensional differences or corrections for *Meṣādi 6 rāśis* given in the text are identical with those used by Nepalese astrologers. However, Lamsāl carefully compared the astronomical constants given in the *Sumatitantra* with those given in Varāhamihira and other authorities, including the modern ones, mainly based on Sengupta's Introduction to Burgess' translation of the *Sūrya Siḥhānta* (1935/1997:VI-LI). He noted that the corrupt copy we have in the National Archives *cannot be* the original one as it is so full of linguistic lapses. He also says that its astronomical parameters are based on ancient *Sūrya Siddhānta*, and that the text is of uncertain age as Sumati has ignored the precession of equinoxes. Notwithstanding his wild claim that the original text was written in Nepal *after* the founding of Mānadeva I's epoch era, Lamsāl's paper is a simple concise introduction available in Nepali to the theoretical base of Sumati. In less than 5 pages he succeeds in conveying his views on the text for which Nayarāj Pant took 60 odd pages! If that was the intellectual situation in the 1960s in Nepal, what could one expect of the copyists of the *Bhāṣā Vamśāvalis* in the 19th century or of the *Sumatitantra*-scribe in the 14th Century Nepālamaṇḍala?

We have given these details also because modern- minded specialists in Indian Astronomy are equally misled by false clues based on hearsay. For example, Kripā śaṅkar śuklā, in his edition of the *Sūrya Siddhānta* with Parameśvara's commentary, contends that

The old *Sūrya Siddhānta* continued to be studied in certain parts of India in some form or other till the end of the tenth century. About 800 A.D. an astronomer named Sumati of Nepal wrote two works on astronomy one entitled *Sumati-tantra* and the other entitled *Sumati-karāṇa*. In one of the opening verses of the first- mentioned work, Sumati writes: "This work, called *Sumatitantra*, has been extracted from the *Sūrya Siddhānta* like clarified butter from milk." It shows that Sumati based his Tantra on the *Sūrya Siddhānta*. The astronomical constants used by Sumati agree with those ascribed by Varāhamihira to the *Sūrya Siddhānta*. It, therefore, seems that Sumati based his work on the same *Sūrya Siddhānta* as was available to Varāhamihira. The other work, as the name implies, is a calendarical work. The works of Sumati show that in the end of eighth century A.D. the old *Sūrya Siddhānta* was considered by the astronomers of Nepal to be an important work on astronomy and its elements were used by them in the construction of the Hindu calendar. Sumati received wide publicity and his works traveled to the south as far as Travancore. Shankaranarayana, who belonged to Quilon in

Travancore, in his commentary on *Laghubbāṣkariya* of Bhāṣkara I mentions the name of Sumati and quotes a verse from his work. This commentary of Shankararayana, it may be mentioned, was written only 69 years after the composition of the *Sumatitantra*. (K.S. Shukla, 1957:27–28).

Yet another specialist in Indian sciences, H.J.J. Winter of Exeter University in the UK has contributed a chapter to A.L. Basham's *A Cultural History of India* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1975). The following paragraph by him is obviously based on K.S. Shukla, 1957,

According to Sumati (A.D. 800) whose work was known both in Nepal and in Kerala, and who wrote his *Sumatitantra* and *Sumati-karana* on the basis of an earlier version of the *Sūrya siddhānta*, it provided the essential elements used by Nepali astronomers in their construction of the Hindu calendar. Evolving during the period between A.D. 628 and 966, the later version gained greatly in popularity, especially in the twelfth century when Bhāṣkara II quoted from it and Mallikārjuna Sūri wrote commentaries on it, first in Telugu then in Sanskrit. (Winter, 1975:153.)

While this quotation ably summarizes śukla, neither of them seems to have really gone critically to the texts by Sumati. The date given by both for Sumati, i.e., A.D. 800 is based on the misreading of the colophon of the British Museum copy. Bendall (1902:193-194), not only misread *vasu randhura kṛta* as *vasu candra kṛta*, i.e., 418 for 498, so that śaka 418+78 - A.D. 496+Manadeva Saṃvat 304 - A.D. 800. He had also misinterpreted the title of the text as *Sumata Mahātanta*.

Lāṭadeva's Sūrya Siddhānta

The *Sūrya Siddhānta* that forms the theoretical basis of Sumati is the *ardharātriśa pakṣa* of Aryabhata I as it was modified by his immediate pupil Lāṭadeva in the light of Aryabhata's *ardharātriśa* system. In his *Indika*, Al-Beruni (A.D. 1030) says that Lāṭadeva was the author of the *Sūrya Siddhānta* (Sachau: Vol. I: 153).

Sengupta, too, believes that, "the old Sūrya Siddhānta was made up-to-date by replacing the old constants in it by new ones from Aryabhata's midnight system.... The date of original Sūrya Siddhānta becomes 384 A. D. It came from the *asura* or Babylonian sources. (Sengupta, 1935, p.xl). Nearly all of its astronomical constants are shared by Brahmagupta's *Khaṇḍakhadya*, I, 1, 8- 13; II, 1-5, and Bhāṣkara I's *Mahābhāṣkariya* (See Kuppana Shastri's edition, Madras, 1957). The epoch of this *ardharātriśa* version of *Sūrya*

Siddhānta is midnight of 20/21 March 505. However, in Chapter IX of Varāhamihira's *Pañcasiddhāntikā*, there is an evidence of an earlier *Sūrya Siddhānta* using noon epoch, and slightly different parameters for the mean motion of the Sun, the Moon, lunar apogee and ascending node. Neugebauer and Pingree think that it is the work of Lāṭadeva- - the *sarvasiddhānta guru*, i.e., the teacher of all scientific astronomy (O. Neugebauer and D. Pingree, 1970:13).

Sumatitantra : A Contaminated Text

The *Sumatitantra*, in the form we have it today, cannot be the original text. Otherwise, how can "Mānadeva Samvat" 304 or A.D. 880 be mentioned in a text that is nearly three hundred years old in origin? Its language betrays the fact that it has already passed through the hands of generations of not- too-learned scribes and copyists. It is not an unusual process for anonymous Sanskrit texts to become an inclusive or "composite text" with contaminated deposits at different layers. The best example is the present *Sūrya siddhānta* which "became a composite growth from about 400 A.D. to 725 A.D. from the evidence of its star tables" (Sengupta, 1935: xxix). It has been subject to correction, emendation, and modification from time to time, and the present *Sūrya Siddhānta* is the latest redaction of the work which assumed the present final shape and size between A.D. 628- 966. In fact, the earliest date given for the text is A.D. 285. The dates of its three substantive revisions, as it were, are A.D. 285, 500 and 570 (Saha and Lahiri, 1992/1995).

Petech (1984:12 footnote No. 3), however, claims that the *Sumatitantra*, in its main portion, (was) "compiled not after 850 A.D.:" He does not explain what he meant by "the main portion" from among its five chapters and a sixth incomplete one . We do not know how he had come to that conclusion.

Can Sumatitantra be Dated?

Is it, then, possible to date the *Sumatitantra* on *any* scientific basis?

The late Pandit Nayarāj Pant believed that it *can be dated* on the basis of whether or not it gives a rate for the precession of equinoxes (*ayanāṃśa*). The Earth is not a perfect sphere, nor is its axis a perpendicular one. A continuous receding of the sidereal Zodiac, at the rate of 1 degree in 72 years, is caused by the gravitational pull of the Sun and the Moon on the central bulge of the Earth with a declined axis. It means that if the Vernal Equinox in 1997 is on March 21st, seventy- two years later it will be on March 20th. N.R. Pant claims, "how much precession is given in a text, or whether it is mentioned or not, enables us to determine the age of the text" (Pant *et al.*, 1978b: 137). Or, "There is no mention of the precession of equinoxes in the *Sumatitantra*. Therefore, it was composed in the Licchavi age before the knowledge of the

precession of equinoxes became common among the astronomers” (Pant *et al.*, 1983:19).

Some ancient astronomers in India, including Varāhamihira, believed that the sidereal Zodiac was moveable and that its movement was oscillatory and that such a movement was also ominous and inauspicious.

However, no ancient Indian astronomer before Muñjāla (A.D. 932), makes an *explicit mention of the rate*, nor of the *concept* of precession as such. Though the original work containing his views on the topic is lost there is only a reference to it in Bhāskara II’s *Vāsanābhāṣya* - - a self-commentary on *Siddhānta- śiromaṇi* (A.D. 1150). In that text, he writes that precession is what was known as *krāntipāta* (i.e., the intersection of the ecliptic and the equinoctial circles) in earlier works. He says that the earlier acāryas did not mention it *because* it was too negligible during their time. (Commentary on the verses 17, 18 and 19 of SS in the *Golabandhādihikāra*). Similarly,

From a stanza of Viṣṇucandra (A.D. 578), quoted by Pṛthudakasvāmī (A.D.864) in his commentary on the *Brahmasphuṭasiddhānta*, it appears that this subject was dealt with in the old *Sūrya Siddhānta*. (p. 38). According to the (new) *Sūrya Siddhānta*, the precessional motion is likened to liberation or oscillation of the equinoxes about a fixed point. According to this theory, the equinoxes, like the pendulum, at first move eastward, reach the maximum amplitude and then move westward. The maximum eastward deviation is 27 degrees whence the annual rate works out to 54 seconds as against the modern value of 50.25 seconds. (Jaggi, 1990:75–76).

David Pingree, one of the foremost Western authorities on Indian Mathematical Astronomy, published a terse treatment on the topic of *ayanāṃśa* with the title “Precession and Trepidation in Indian Astronomy before 1200 A.D,” in the *Journal for the History of Astronomy*, Vol 3 (1972), pp. 27-35. He shows that there were three different accounts of it in the astronomical works before A.D. 1200: 1. trepidation with $27'' \times 2 = 54''$ seconds, 2. trepidation with an amplitude of 59.9'' seconds, and 3. the third account gives simple precession.

The Year of Zero Degree Precession and its Annual Rate

There is no unanimity of scholarly opinions on the exact *date of zero degree precession*, nor on its *annual rate*. The initial year of zero degree precession is considered to be A.D. 285 by the Calendar Reform Committee of India (1955). Cyril Pagan, a Western advocate of the Sidereal Zodiac as against Western Tropical Zodiac, believed that the Zero degree precession coincided

with A.D. 213. K.S. Krishnamurti, an Indian specialist in Oriental Astronomy, thought that in the year 291 A.D., the precession of the equinoxes was Zero. The current *Sūrya Siddhanta* gives A.D. 499 as the year of zero degree trepidation; Muñjala in his *Laghumānasa* gives A.D.527 as the year for zero degree precession, Bhoja (A.D. 1042) gave A.D. 522, Dāmodara, A.D. 420, and Pillai, A.D. 533.

Not only that there is such a diversity of opinions on the initial year, there is also no uniformity of opinions on the rate of precession. Muñjala thought that it was 59.9" seconds or nearly 1 minute of the arc whereas the modern *Sūrya Siddhanta* gives an oscillation rate of 54" seconds, i.e., 27" eastwards and then 27" westward. Modern astronomers since Newton give 50.25"seconds as the annual rate of precession.

We cannot, therefore, date an astronomical text simply on the basis of the presence or absence of a reference to the precession of equinoxes.

The Incidence of the Word *ayanāṃśa* in *Sumatitantra*

Pandit Nayarāj Pant believed that the *Sumatitantra* was written *some time* during the three centuries between A.D. 576- 879, between the so- called "Mānadeva Saṃvat" and Nepālā Saṃvat *because* Sumati does not mention the precession or its rate explicitly anywhere in the text. The first mention of *ayana- calana* (the shifting of equinoxes) occurs in *Vateśvara- siddhanta* (A.D.904) but he says that the astronomer who knows his spherical trigonometry should calculate his own precession rate. (VS II:25). Thus, in the British Museum copy, on several folios of the *Sumatitantra*, there is a mention of the word, *ayanāṃśa*. In the Chapter on the True Motions of the Planets, there occur the following lines

*Deśāntaranādi yojana 160 bunajya yojana 9600 bhāga 28812
vikṣepakrānti ayanāṃśaṇca tena kārayet* (folio 24b)

In the Chapter on Lunar Eclipses, we have the following lines

*akṣajyākarme guṇa 1561 bhāga 3438//ayanāṃśāṇcākarme guṇa 1398
bhāga 3438//* (folio 85b)

In the Chapter on Solar eclipse, we have the following lines:

*Sparsa madhyānta pūrveṇa ayanāṃśaṇca sādhayet/
Akṣasūtrāntathaivaṇca parilekhāni kārayet//*(folio 107b)

*grāsādi madhyānta divākareṣu/ krameṇa rāśitryasamṛteṣu
śadabhūttareṣaṭkhaṇapareca yāmyām krāntijyamāntiya yathaiiva
pūrvvaṃ*

*bhānoyanāṃśaṃmitti lakṣayitvā/ sasparśa madhya grahaṇānta kāle//
pratyāya nāḍīmasu piṇḍa kuryāt sumnyakhatrithena vibhakta
labdham* (folio114b)

*grāsādi madhyanta kramāyanamśā/akṣayanāmsau samadik yutamtau
yojitam* (folio 124b)

The longitude of a planet for any given moment can be calculated by using a standard *pañcāṅga*. *Nirayana* (sidereal) longitude plus *ayanāṃśa* gives the *sāyana* (tropical) longitude of the planet. However, the moot question here is: how come that the *word* is undeniably there in the text of *Sumatitantra* if there were no related *concept* embedded in it? Can we have the word without the related concept in any discourse? No, certainly, not; unless the word is, like the words in nonsense verse or *Alice in the Wonderland*, semantically vacuous.

Do We have the Whole of Sumatitantra Text?

Both the copies of the *Sumatitantra* end abruptly; the last 13/14 lines in the British Museum copy are missing from the copy in the National Archives, and in their stead there is a stray folio with only 7 lines, and it is numbered 162a (?) which follows folio 143b. This indicates the plain fact that there are at least 20 folios misplaced in the National Archives. However, it has some tables (folios 162a- 166b), giving the *śigraha* (epicycle) figures for each degree of the Planets—Mars, Mercury, Jupiter, Venus, and Saturn. On folio 165b we have a table for *Krāntikhaṇḍa* (Sine for Declination), *Lagna* (Rising Point of the Ecliptic), and *Trīśavādi* (Three Transformations) for each of the 90 degrees of the quadrant. There are also 3 additional folios without page numbers, which give the summary of mean motions etc. as enunciated in the main text. Then comes the colophon. It dates the text, copied for the second time, on *Nepāla Saṃvat 495 Pauṣa śukla 13*. All the above Tables are missing in the British Museum copy. In that copy, the last 18 lines end abruptly with

Evante kathiyinatra saptaṭālakāni ca/yakramova...

after which comes all of a sudden the colophon. The copyist seemed to have thought that the following descriptive section on the *saptaṭāla* (seven circles of the Hell) is not of day-to-day relevance. The first colophon has the following date: *//svādādicatvāḥ saha vatsareva māsā bhavā pauṣa sita navaṃmvaṃ* i.e., NS 476 Pauṣa śukla 9....

In the National Archives copy, the supplementary folios 11a,- b, 12a,-b, 13a- and b appear to represent what are folios 121a,-b, 122a-b, 123a,-b, 124a and b in the British Museum copy. In both copies these folios have little direct connection with the main running text, but they try to show the śaka Saṃvat calculations in the context of Nepāla Saṃvat. As such, these portions appear to be unsuccessful attempts at textual modification, amputation or interpolation.

Although all the topics enumerated at the beginning of the text in the Chapter I on the Mean Motions of the Planets are covered by the copies we have, we do not really know whether the copies we have contain the whole of the *Sumatitantra*. Above all, there is no star - table or a Chapter on *Nakṣatras* (asterisms), had there been one it would have made the dating of the text a less serious problem. However, the *Sumatitantra* (folio 20a-b) gives the *mandocāṃśa* i.e., planetary longitudes for the higher apses in degrees, pertaining to the Equation of the Centre. These astronomical parameters are identical with those of *Mahābhāskariya*, VII:25-28a and *Khaṇḍakhādyaka*. The *pātāṃśa* or (longitude of ascending nodes of the Planets in degrees since the beginning of the Kali) given in the *Sumatitantra* (Folio 48a) are identical with those given in *Mahābhāskariya* (VII. 9-10). Similarly, *Vikṣepa* (the Celestial Latitude of the Planets) is given in folio 48a. All these astronomical constants are of about A.D. 505.

The following verse cited by śāṅkaranārāyaṇa (A.D. 825-900) in his *Vivaraṇa* on *Laghubhāskariya* (IV: 15-16) from Acārya Sumati, does not occur in the chapters on eclipses or elsewhere in the text,

*Prācyāṃ na ravergrahaṇaṃ vārunyāṃ cāpi śītakiraṇasya/
prācyāṃ vṛṇoti candraṃ vṛṇoti sūryaḥ tathāparataḥ//*

Of the usual 500 verses in 14 chapters of the *Sūrya Siddhānta*, the *Sumatitantra* contains only six. We cannot, therefore, date the text simply on the basis of a single criterion, i.e., the presence or absence of any explicit reference to the annual rate of precession. The original text of the old *Sūrya Siddhānta*, as summarized by Varāhamihira (and modified by Lāṭadeva) in Chapters I, IX, X, XI, XVI and XVII of the *Pañcasiddhāntikā*, is no longer available. What we have in that book is only a modified version of the original theory. It is a great pity that the eminent team of editors/transcribers of the printed *Sumatitantram* (1978) did not have access to the British Museum copy, and they did all the so-called “emendations” without consulting the earlier copy (N.R. Pant *et al.*, 1978, Preface: 28). This is in total defiance of elementary principles of textual criticism.

The Intercalated Months in the Inscriptions: Can these be a Criterion for Identifying the Epoch Era Used in the Licchavi Inscriptions?

The late Pandit Nayarāj Pant's book, *Licchavisamvatko Nirṇaya*, (1987) was awarded the Madan Puraskār for Vikram Saṃvat 2043, and several national medals and prizes decorated him thereafter. Madan Mani Dixit, a distinguished Nepali writer on his own right, and also the then Vice-Chancellor of the Royal Nepal Academy, may not have had sufficient time to read the book, nor to grasp its methodological premises and framework. However, he wrote that the book was "a masterpiece of scientific reasoning—a work of great importance" (all harmless, but potentially vacuous, adjectives such as *Mahān*, *Viśāl*, *Vaijñānika* were merely piled up on the author and/or his books by most of the writers contributing to the volume or volumes without anyone critically assessing the theoretical or methodological bases). "It is such an important book that had not yet been written by any Nepali, then or now Therefore, Nayarāj Pant is the tallest Nepali," wrote Dixit in his Foreword.

In A.D. 2000, the late Pandit Nayarāj Pant was also honoured with an Honorary Doctor of Letters (*mahāvidyāvaridhī* i.e. "a-vast-ocean-of-knowledge" degree by Tribhuvan University. The "experts" who evaluated his work, such as Madan Mani Dixit, must have known the field better than we do. The fact, however, remains that Nayarāj Pant based his "conclusions" in the book on the following three shaky and disputable bases,

1. The chronology given in the *Sumatitantra*, with reference to the epoch era used by Mānadeva and his successors, on the one hand, and Aṃśuvarma and his successors, on the other hand;
2. The Intercalated Month/Expunged Month Tables prepared by Chatre (1860) or by Sewell and Dikshit (1896), and
3. A corrupt Nepalese manuscript on assorted topics dated NS 525 Mārga Krishna 3 (Tuesday Nov. 30, 1404), but of no age.

With the help of these three tools N.R. Pant and his team set out to refute the views of ten other historians from France, India, and Nepal, in pp. 183-540 of their *magnum opus*, only to conclude by "mathematically proving" that there was a "Mānadeva Saṃvat" founded in A.D. 576. Since the second set of inscriptions are dated in the so-called "Mānadeva Saṃvat", thus runs their argument, "the earlier inscriptions must have been dated in śaka Saṃvat because all historical events tally well." Neither of these conclusions is an example of "scientific reasoning."

More than a century ago, in the Gujarātī version of his work Bhagwānlāl Indrājī (1880) had interpreted the epoch era used by Mānadeva and his successors as śaka era, and the era used by Aṃśuvarma and his successors as

Harṣa Era founded in A.D. 606. At the behest of his English translator, Georg Buhler, he changed his view and re- interpreted it as Vikrama Era in the English version of his work (see Buhler's Preface to Bhagwanlal Indrajī, 1885). Twenty- three years later, Lévi (1908) evaluated the available evidence before him and conjectured the possibilities of śaka era being used in Licchavi inscriptions. In 1945, R.C Majumdar, (revised in 1959 and published in 1961: 47- 49 , under the title "The Eras of Nepal") considered the epoch era in early Licchavi inscriptions to be śaka and the era used by Aṃśuvarma to be śaka with 500 left out. Echoing Majumdar's views, nearly forty years ago, D.C. Sircar (1965) wrote:

The inscriptions of Mānadeva and his successors, including the earlier records of Aṃśuvarman are dated in the śaka Era (Sircar, 1958: 886, Note 1). But the later epigraphs of Aṃśvarman and his successors, probably bear dates in the śaka Era minus 500, i.e., śaka 501 = Year I of Aṃśuvarman's reginal reckoning (Sircar, 1965: 271).

Although he merely gave a new name to śaka Era, Bāburām Acārya already concluded in 1971 that the the epoch era used by Aṃśuvarma is none other than the earlier era in use with the numeral for century dropped. In his brief paper published in the *Gorkhapatra* for September 2, 1972, "Aṃśuvarmaśaka Saṃvatma eka Vicār," Historian Bhuwanlal Pradhān, argued for the possibility of Aṃśuvarma using śaka Saṃvat 527, 528, 529 as 27, 28, 29. "There is every possibility that he computed the day 1 of Saṃvat 529 as the day 1 of his Saṃvat 29," wrote Pradhān in his little noticed paper (Pradhān, 1972: 7).

We have, of course, no infallible criterion to test these views of eminent historians or *any other views* , for that matter, because, as we have discussed earlier, out of more than 200 Licchavi inscriptions, only 2 are with weekdays. Even for these two scanty pieces of available evidence, historians have given different A.D. equivalents. The time difference between the two documents is 270 years. Without any exception, all the newly found inscriptions do not have weekday in their dates. There are, however, 11 inscriptions with *intercalated months*. Pandit Nayarāj Pant and his now defunct school believe that these intercalated data can be used to verify the epoch era in use in Licchavi inscriptions. The following are the epigraphic data:

(*Saṃvat* 3)98 ? *prathama-aśāḍhe-śukladivā* 12, from Budhānilakaṇṭha, Viṣṇupādukā phedi. Shankar Mān Rājvarma read the last figure as 5, Dhanavajra and his colleagues as 6; during the six- years of his fifteen year tenure as a member of the Royal Nepal Academy, NR Pant finally decided that the last figure is neither 5 nor 6 , but 8 !).

Saṃvat 435 Dvittya- Pauṣa śukladivā 5, from Patan , Bahālakhu
Saṃvat 449 prathamāṣa(dha) śukladaśamyām, from Kisipidi
Saṃvat 479 Dvittya aṣāḍha, from Brahma Tole , Kathmandu
Saṃvat 487 prathamāṣḍhaśukladvittiyām, from Devapātan
Saṃvat 517 prathamāṣḍhaśukladivādvādaśyām from Dharmasthali
Saṃvat 519 prathamapauṣaśukladivādvādaśyām, from Satuṅgal
Saṃvat 31 dvitiyapauṣaśuklaśamyām, Bhaktapur, Ināyaco
Saṃvat 34 prathamapauṣaśukladvittiyām, Pātan, Sundhāra
Saṃvat 536 dvitiyapauṣaśuklapañcamyām from Gokarṇa Bāluvā,
Pañcāśāṭsamadhikesamvatsaraśatadvaye prathamāṣḍhamāsasya
dvittiyādivase, i.e., *Saṃvat 250 prathamāṣḍha 2*, from Motitār, Pātan

Evidently, in Licchivi Nepal, an ancient system of intercalation was observed in its luni- solar calendar based on mean reckoning. The differences between mean reckoning and true reckoning may vary from a minimum of 7 hours 18 minutes to the maximum of 14 hours 12 minutes in the ending moment of a *tithi*—the most important factor in Indian chronology. It is a system unattested in civil calendar anywhere else in the Indian sub-continent, then or now. According to this system, when a *saṅkrānt* is missing in any synodic month within an *ayana*, the last month of the *ayana* was intercalated, i. e., the first month was called *prathama*- and the following intercalated one, *dvittya*- The intercalated month is either *aṣāḍha* in the middle of a five- year cycle or *Pauṣa* at the end of it. This general rule is, however, violated by a number of Licchavi inscriptions such as the inscriptions dated *Saṃvat 517* and *Saṃvat 519* where we have two intercalations within a gap of 16 months, or by *Pauṣa* intercalation both in *Saṃvat 31* and *Saṃvat 34* at a gap of 36 months and in *Saṃvat 536* at a gap of 24 months. Normally, an intercalated month coincided with the 31st lunar month in a cycle of 62 synodic months. So the irregularity of intercalation at the gap of 36 synodic months seems to have been adjusted by an intercalation at the gap of 24th month in the *Saṃvat 536* inscription. Thibaut surmised that, “the mistake was corrected at irregular times when too great deviations between the real beginning of the season and the traditional chronological calculation made this necessary.” (1899:23) Though the ancient Nepali civil calendar begins from the *Kārttika śukla Pratipad*, the initial five-year cycle was computed from *Māgha śukla Pratipad* of A.D. 76. In the *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* (VIII: 27) Varāhamihira, says,

When Jupiter rises in the month of *Māgha*, having arrived at the first portion of *Dhaniṣṭhā*, then commences the first year of the 60- year cycle, by name *Prabhava*, auspicious to living beings.

“Clearly, the cycle is held to have begun in 76 A.D. with Jupiter at the beginning of *nakṣatra Dhanīṣṭhā* in the month of Māgha. According to a statement in the *Paitāmaha Siddhānta* (Chapter XII, Stanza 2 of the *Pañcasiddhāntikā*), a five - yearly yuga began in A.D. 81 (expired śaka 2 = A.D. 81) which is exactly 5 years after A.D. 76 (Deb, 1931, 271–283).

Pandit Nayarāj Pant believed that the intercalated data from Licchavi inscriptions can be used for the verification of Licchavi epoch era. On Wednesday September 16, 1981, he issued a two- page handout published by the Royal Nepal Academy, consisting of a table on “the Epoch Era Used by Aṃśuvarṃśa and His Successors,” where he used the chronology of the *Sumatitantra* to verify the two inscriptions with intercalated months (our No. 8 and No. 9) and two documents with weekday, dated Saṃvat 31 and Saṃvat 301. This table is reproduced on pages 29–30 of Pant et al., 1987. He showed in a tabular form how only his view was correct and those of other seven historians were wrong. Their book, (should anyone call it a book because there is a cover on it?) *Licchavisamvatko Nirṇaya* (1987) written in collaboration with Devī Prasād Bhaṇḍari and Keshav Chandra Neupāne, is just an enlarged verbal *tour de force* based on that classic handout. However, as we have seen above, there are only two possibilities or variables in intercalary months: it is either Pauṣa or āṣāḍha for as many as *twelve* months of *any year*.

One cannot verify these data with the help of Sewell and Dikshit’s Tables (1896) *because* they are based on Ārya Siddhānta, Caitrādi, current śaka year using mean reckoning. On the other hand, the tables prepared by Kero Lakṣmaṇa Chatre, *Grahasādhakoṣṭhakaṃ*, first published in a Marathi monthly, *Jñānaprasāra* Vol I, No 12 (1860), reproduced happily since by many scholars such as Nayarāj Pant, without checking, are not of much use either. Chatre’s tables are based on the *new Sūrya Siddhānta* using *true reckoning* based on Caitrādi expired śaka. They cannot be of much relevance in the study and interpretation of Licchavi inscriptions *because* we have no record of expunged month before Nepāla Saṃvat 577. Besides, for śaka 532, Chatre’s Tables give the month of Kārttika as *both adhika māsa* as well as *kṣaya māsa*. This is just impossible because the same month cannot be both *kṣaya* and *adhika māsa*. There are more than a dozen such instances of expunged Kārttika and Mārga months in Chatre’s tables. According to true reckoning, Pauṣa can never be an intercalated month. It can only be an expunged one.

On the above three debatable bases, Nayarāj Pant et al. conclude that the epoch era used by Mānadeva and his successors was śaka era and the epoch era used by Aṃśuvarṃśa and his successors was “Mānadeva Saṃvat” which they claim as was founded in śaka 498/A.D. 576. With the help of such a methodological framework, N.R. Pant tried to refute the views of all other

historians, covering about 400 pages of his book. As Petech had once put it rather bluntly,

The Bhāradvāja system utilized two months only for intercalation. (It) was used in medieval Nepal, and it prevailed also at this early period. This system is a lineal descendant of the Jyotiṣa Vedāṅga. (In this system), whenever one of the first six lunar months contains no saṅkrānti, whichever that month may be, it is always aṣāḍha which is duplicated as an intercalary month; when one of the last six lunar months contain no saṅkrānti, whichever that month may be, it is always Pauṣa which is duplicated as an intercalary month. ... The fact that Bhāradvāja system is followed in these inscriptions precludes all possibilities of utilizing the intercalation for determining the starting point of the era, as it has been attempted again and again since the time of Lévi. Beyond this point we cannot go. By no Siddhānta, by no system, with no era, can we get intercalations at the intervals (attested in Licchavi inscriptions). Petech 1961:229–230).

Adhimāsa Sūtra: Which Version is Authentic?

Intercalation is an occasional adjustment in the luni- solar calendar so that divergence between a purely solar calendar and a purely lunar calendar is minimized. At least, during the early Malla period, the astrologers seemed to have vacillated between the two systems of time reckoning. A tangible evidence of it is the so-called *adhimāsaśāstras* as found in the *Dharmanirṇayatithisārasaṅgraha* (Cat.I 1634. 11, folio 21b- 22a NGMPP No. B 33/20).

There is no acceptable and satisfactory translation of the corrupt text of the oft-quoted *Adhikamāsaṅgraha* of the *Dharmanirṇayatithisārasaṅgraha* (DNTSS), first published by Petech in 1958. Its origin or textual source is unknown and obscure as Bhāradvāja and Nārada are not too well known astronomers with a *siddhānta* of their own. Both are, however, mentioned by Varāhamihira in the *Brhatsaṃhitā* (Kern, 1916: 95- 96- 103). Dealing with several topics the text, of which the verses form a very small part, is dated NS 525. Although it is a palmleaf manuscript, paleographically, it is not older than the late sixteenth century. At least, it is not written in Bhujimola script. Consisting of seven and a half verse, the chapter enunciates the views of Nārada based on Caitrādi lunar months, the first half starting from Spring equinox and latter half starting from Autumn equinox. Bhāradvāja's views are based on Māghādi solar year, the first half starting from winter solstice, the second half starting from summer solstice. However, the translation and

interpretation of the last verse, in particular, is problematic and controversial. This will be evident from a comparison of Petech's and Shankar Mān Rājavamśi's translation of the verse:

*Adhimāsa yadānaṣṭā ra (a)yaṇe dve sucintayet/
Dvirāṣāḍho dvipauṣaśca bhāradvājasya vacanam yathā//*

which Petech translates as

The intercalary months, if they (wise men) consider well, the two half years of the non-existent (*saṃkrānti*, are) a second āṣāḍha and a second Pauṣa, according to the precepts of Bhāradvāja (Petech, 1984, p.14–15).

It is difficult to guess what Petech may have meant by the above enigmatic sentence. Rājavamśi, on the other hand, translates the verse as the following—a translation clearly influenced by the modern practice based on true reckoning:

When there is an expunged month in an *ayana* then in both the *ayanās* both āṣāḍha and Pauṣa are intercalated (Rājavamśi, 1973: 11).

In the *Sumati Siddhānta*, (Kaiser Library No 82, palmleaf, 69 folios in Bhujimola script, with entries from N.S. 456-573 / A.D. 1336-1453), unfortunately so poorly transcribed by Pant et. al. 1978, there are at least three different versions of the *adhikamāśasūtra*. On folio 13 / 34, we have a two-stanza-text. It begins with a Newari sentence: *lā tamṇeyā thathyam jurom*, i.e., this is how months are intercalated : the first half of the year begins with makara- rāśi (solar Māgha) and ends with *mithuna-rāśi* (solar āṣāḍha). If the transition of the Sun is missing in any one of these lunar months within *uttarāyana*, then the month of Pauṣa is intercalated. The second half of the year begins with karkāṭa rāśi (solar śrāvaṇa) and ends with dhanuṣa rāśi (solar Pauṣa). If the transition of the Sun is missing in any of these lunar months in *dakṣiṇāyana*, then the month of āṣāḍha is intercalated. This part of the text ends with a Newari statement *iti lā tamṇeyā prapāti thathyem jurom//0//* It may roughly be translated as the following:

This is the tradition of intercalating months.

However, on folio 3a there are still other versions of the *sūtra*. It begins with, *adhikamāśaka sūtram iti*. And then goes on to enunciate the views of Nārada. He stipulates that if the transition of the Sun is missing between the

synodic months of Caitra and Bhādra, then the month of aṣāḍha is intercalated. If the transition of the Sun is missing in any month between the synodic month of āśvina and phalguṇa, then the month of Pauṣa is intercalated. Then a disturbing statement in Newari comes:

*lā taṃneyā thva pāṭha pramāṇana taia tu jiva jurom
nhātho pāṭhana majiva//0//
Caitrādi tyādi thva pāṭhana mālvā lā taṃneḥ thathyem jiva jurom.*

A tentative translation of this stilted medieval Newari statement into English would perhaps be the following : “This textual proof for intercalation of months is correct; the earlier one is not. The correct version is the one that begins with Caitrādi etc”. We must not forget that the Nepali civil calendar begins from Kārttika śukla pratipad. So far so good. Then on folio 3a the text has yet another version. It begins with Meṣa rāśi (solar Vaiśākha), ending the first half of the year with kanyā rāśi. (solar āśvina). If there is no transition of the Sun in any of the above lunar months, the month of aṣāḍha is intercalated. The latter half of the year begins with Tulā rāśi (solar Kārttika) and ends with the Sun in Mīna rāśi (solar Caitra). If there is no transition of the Sun in any of these lunar months, the month of Pauṣa is intercalated. At the end, again, comes a caveat in Newari which says: “The intercalation of months has been written down. Months have to be intercalated according to this textual evidence.” Now we are at once in a state of confusion on which of these different versions was intended as *the authoritative textual evidence*. The version one of the sūtra has purely solar months with the first half beginning with the Sun’s entry in the Makara rāśi and the second half beginning with the Sun’s entry into Karkāṭa rāśi. In second version of the sūtra in *the Sumati Siddhānta*, representing Nārada’s precepts, the first half of the year begins with the lunar month of Caitra and it ends in Bhādra which leads to an intercalation in aṣāḍha. The second half begins with āśvina and ends in Phalguṇa. If the transition of the Sun is missing in any of these synodic months it will lead to intercalation in the month of Pauṣa.

These versions are, again, different from the one given in a brief table in the *Sumatīkaraṇa*, a paper manuscript in the National Archives (I 1173/ B 356/16). On folio 23a of it nunciating an aṣāḍha intercalation in Uttarāyaṇa and Pauṣa intercalation in Dakṣiṇāyaṇa. All these divergences in textual recensions are reduced by Petech, 1984 to two versions only: hat manuscript, we have a *Māghādi* year based on the rāśi system indicated by numerals, eNārada’s precepts based on a Caitrādi year and Bhāradvāja’s precepts based on ayana. He generalizes these recensions in *the Sumati Siddhānta*, as “a parallel text” which merely gives the same version “ in terms of solar

months". This simplification of the textual evidence may be because Petech was unable to consider and interpret the significance of Newari caveat.

The crucial question is: which of these distinct as well as conflicting versions of the *adhikamāsasūtra* was followed in Licchavi Nepal,? or did different versions prevail during different periods ?—it would just be impossible to decide because only two months, Pauṣa and āṣāḍa, were intercalated. It would be a senseless assumption to believe that in Licchavi Nepal there were no astronomical disputes between rival schools of the Royal Astrologers or village astrologers on when to observe an intercalated month—in Pauṣa or in āṣāḍa. Whenever it is observed, an intercalated month disrupts, not only the ritual life, but also the secular timeframe of a society. Both sacred and secular life of the common people are affected by an intercalated month. Therefore, historical notes from the Later Malla period have a number of entries for dates when disputes among astrologers took place. Even today, notwithstanding the learned interceptions of the *Pañcāṅga Nirṇāyaka Samiti*, there are fierce and vocal disputes among the astronomers/astrologers on when to observe the *Mahānavamī*, *Vijayādaśamī*, or *Lakṣmī Pūjā*, or *Govardhana Pūjā*, on whether to follow one system as against others. Newspaper columns are at times full of angry rejoinders from one another, all citing *smṛtis*, *sūtras*, *śāstras*, and, of course, *nibandhas*. Most of the current *pañcāṅgas* are based on diverse sources, as diverse as Gaṇeśa Daivajña (b. 1507), Makaraṇḍa (ca. 1438), Rāmabhaṭṭa's (1600) *Rāmavinoda* and Ketkar (1878). This may be one of the several reasons why the four different houses of astrologers, representing diverse *siddhāntas* (?) or branches of astronomy assemble at a resting place near the palace to decide upon the auspicious moment for the Chariot Festival of the Lord of Buṅga.!

Confessions as Conclusions

Evidently, there is no connection between a system of intercalation and an epoch era in use just as there is no germane connection between the Vikrama Era and the intercalation system we follow now. The very fact that the same ancient system of intercalation was continued both during the Licchavi Period and the Early Malla Period, even after the founding of Nepāla Saṃvat, shows that there can be no inalienable connection between an epoch era and a system of intercalation. On the basis of intercalation, say, in the month of śrāvaṇa it is all but impossible to tell which epoch era was used in a document dated Saṃvat 2054 if such a document were to be unearthed a millennium or two later by archaeologists. With such dubious premises and tools as the *adhikamāsaprakaraṇa* of the *Dharmānirṇayatitihisārasaṅgraha*, (DNTSS), there is no wonder if N.R. Pant's 640 - page book ends with the following disappointing confessional statements;

1. No use has been made of the astronomical calculations from the *Sumatitantra*; only its historical essence has been fully used in this work (p. 566). (Does *Sumatitantra*, then, contain some historical secrecy unrevealed so far?)
2. As the second epoch era has been verified, the first epoch era cannot be any other than śaka. This is almost certain, but it has not been proved mathematically (p. 571).
3. No matter whichever Saṃvat one considers, no matter howsoever one computes one is not able to verify the intercalated months mathematically (p. 572). (By using *adhimāsaprakaraṇa* of the DNTSS, ? or *adhimāsaśūtras* of the *Sumati Siddhānta*?)
4. In *Vedāṅga Jyautiṣa*, the months of Pauṣa and āṣāḍha alone are intercalated. As such a system of calculation based on śaka era is given by Varāhamihira, one tends to believe that in Mānadeva's time, *Vedāṅga Jyautiṣa* was prevalent (p. 572). (Then why don't we also say that *Vedāṅga jyautiṣa*, not any other well-known siddhāntic texts such as Brahmagupta's *Khaṇḍakhādyaka* (A.D. 665) and śaṭānanda's *Bhaṣvati- Karaṇa* (ca. A.D. 1099), prevailed in Nepal till NS 576? Till then no month other than āṣāḍha and Pauṣa was intercalated.)
5. One cannot interpret all the (49) verses of *Vedāṅga Jyautiṣa*, nor are there any examples available. There is a wide diversity of opinions among the explicators. We seemed to have found some examples (of the use of the system), but one cannot be too sure to speak authoritatively. (p.573) (Which of the three versions of *Vedāṅga Jyautiṣa* are we talking about, the ṛg version with 36 verses, or Yajuṣa version with 49 verses of which only 30 are common to the ṛg version, or Atharvaṇa version with 162 verses, including the 93rd arcā clearly enumerating all the 7 *Vāras* with their presiding deities? Pant et al. 1987 quote 8 verses on the computation of days, *ayana* and intercalation from Yajuṣa version and 9 verses on *tithi* and *karaṇa* from the Atharvaṇa version.)
6. So far I have not myself understood the meaning of (all the 36 or 49 verses of) *Vedāṅga Jyautiṣa*, let alone teaching it to others. There is no authoritative ancient exegesis on *Vedāṅga Jyautiṣa*. When will I be able to make out the meaning of *Vedāṅga Jyautiṣa* with the help of *Siddhānta śiromaṇi* ? (p. 575). (See śivarāj Acārya Kaundinnyāyana's *Svadharmasaṃdeśa* No 4, pp. 15-19, 2001 for an incisive criticism of N.R. Pant's readings).

Coming as they do at the end of the book and its 36- page "Concluding Chapter" these statements are a surprising revelation, particularly in a book entitled *Licchivisaṃvatko Nirṇaya*. authored by the progenitor of the Itihāsa

Samśodhana movement, with the assistance and collaboration of knowledgeable historians such as Mahes Rāj Pant, Dines Rāj Pant, and, of course, Gyaṇmaṇi Nepāl, whose last-minute rescue operations gave the semblance of a book to this unseemly compilation of talks, tables, translations and contributions of assorted writers. As a matter of fact, in all sanguinity, the title of the book should have been *Licchavisamvatko Annyola* (Confusion in the Views about Licchavi Era). The sum and substance of the 640-page book may be summarized in a few sentences. Nearly a similar conclusion had already been reached by Petech in 1961, a conclusion which he rephrased in just four brilliant lines:

The dates with intercalary months found in the Licchavi inscriptions hitherto published have only āṣāḍha and Pauṣa. *But they cannot be verified by any known system, the medieval Nepalese not excluded.* The question ought to be the subject of a special study. (Petech, 1984: 20. Footnote 1)

Although it was in use for *ritual purposes* for more than a millennium, Lagadha's *Jyautiṣa vedāṅga*, "containing an *inaccurate scheme* for intercalating two synodic months in every five years, was probably never used to regulate a civil calendar in India, where the beginning of each month was expected to coincide as closely as possible with the sunrise which follows the true conjunction of the Sun and the Moon" (Pingree, 1982:355; also Pingree, 1973: 1–12).

An intercalary month, or *adhimāsa*, was from time to time added to the normal twelve months of the year, presumably in order to make the beginnings of the sun's *ayanas* fall in the correct months. Even after observing two intercalated months in every five years, there would still be a whole month's discrepancy between solar calendar and lunar calendar in every 40 years. "Despite the efforts of many scholars to prove the contrary, *no systematic intercalation scheme can be attributed to this period*" (Pingree:1978:535.).

The Final Dismal Leap in Logic

The most unnerving "conclusions" one comes across in the whole book by Pant et al. are the following unbelievable high jumps in logic. The quotations are all from Pant et al., 1987: 179- 180. Unless specified otherwise, all English translations in this paper are by me,

1. The dates in Aṃśuvarma's and his successors' inscriptions can be verified only with the help of the chronology given in the *Sumatitantra*.

(As we have seen, this chronology has no basis in historical facts just as its geographical descriptions are of no use at all).

2. Amśuvarma was the first one to use weekday in inscriptions. (Except in one inscription, he did not use weekday, nor did his successors for the next 270 years. The use of the weekday cannot be a watershed for dividing the *Vedāṅga* and Siddhāntic systems of astronomy in India, and there is nothing else in Amśuvarma's inscriptions to do so in Nepal. All the presiding deities of seven weekdays are enumerated in the *Atharvaṇa Jyautiṣa*, arcā 93rd).
3. Both Sumati and Amśuvarma were the devotees of śiva. (That does not prove that the Sumati system was followed by Amśuvarma. Although he styled himself as the one who was "favoured by the grace of the feet of Lord Paśupati," he did not exercise any discrimination among śaiva, Vaiṣṇava, śākta, and Baudha religious foundations).
4. Amśuvarma was the one who started to compute time according to *Sumatitantra* in Nepal. (There is no evidence for the use of the *Sumatitantra* in Licchavi period. The system of *āṣāḍha / Pauṣa* intercalation is propounded, not only in *Vedāṅga Jyautiṣa*, it is common to *Paitamaha Siddhānta* (where the 5- year cycle began from A.D. 76 when both the Sun and the Moon were in *Dhanīṣṭhā Nakṣatra* (Alpha Delphini) on *Māgha śukla Pratipad tithi*), in Droṇa's *Smṛtismuccaya*, and Jain *Sūrya Prajñapti*. Astronomer Bhāradvāja, whose views on intercalation at the end of an *ayana* held sway in ancient and early medieval Nepal, was still in vogue in early medieval Nepal Valley during Nepāla samvat ca. 132-570 (A.D. 1011-1449) This tradition was probably abandoned or replaced by other systems based on true reckoning since NS 577 only)
5. The author of the *Sumatitantra* called his country *Kanyādvīpa* because Varāhamihira considered that among all the nine climes of Bhāratavarṣa, the *Varṇāśrama* system prevailed only in *Kanyādvīpa*. (Both Sumati and Varāhamihira were talking about *Kanyādvīpa*, wherever it be, *not* about Nepal).
6. As Amśuvarma considered himself an adherent of *ārya-maryādā* (i.e., the four stages of Hindu life and the caste system, among other things) he was the one who constructed a *pañcāṅga* according to the *Sumatitantra* in Nepal. (There is no inherent connection between a society's adherence to the *varṇa* system and *Sumatitantra*. No social system has to follow one in order to follow the other. There is nothing unique in the inscriptions of Amśuvarma to arrive at such a conclusion because most ambitious rulers in āryāvarta, including Mahārāja Jang Bahādur Rāṇa, made *exactly similar claims*. The ārya- maryādā was only an ideal to which the ruling elites in Jambūdvīpa wished to approximate their social realities. In

Nepal, where even after two millennia of Hinduisation, more than half the population still follow animism and faith- healing, *The Constitution of Nepal, 1991* defines Nepal as a Hindu Kingdom, since it is ruled by the Shaha Monarchy which is an adherent of Aryan culture! (See Thapar, 1978.)

Pant devotes 420 pages (pp. 180–540) of the book to refute the views of ten other historians who held different views, including one of his own star disciples, regarding the epoch era used in ancient Nepal. The main burden of the work is to prove everyone, other than N.R. Pant and his ardent disciples, wrong. To anyone who is familiar with the elementary principles of Indian/Nepalese epigraphy or of Indian astronomy, or ancient Nepali history, this is a most bizarre exercise in pedantry based on the assumption that the 11 intercalated epigraphic data can be used for verifying the epoch year of the era used in early Nepal. Because of the use of mean reckoning and the Bhāradvāja system of intercalation it is all but impossible to do so by using the *adhikamāsaprakaraṇa* of the DNTSS, or the Sewell tables, or Chatre tables, or the *Sumatitantra* chronology. As history, the book by Pant et al. contains nothing new, and as astronomy it has ended as a futile exercise leading to inconclusive confessions, happily oblivious of modern researches in Indian astronomy accomplished in India and in the West.

External Evidence: The Chinese and Tibetan Sources

There are, however, some kingpins and key chronological landmarks, mainly culled from *external sources* which serve as indispensable signposts for determining the chronology of early inscriptions from Nepal. The travelogue of Hsuen Tsang (A.D.629–645) refers to Aṃśuvarṃā as the late, wise, learned, and famous ruler who had also composed a work on *śabdavidyāśāstra*. Based on various accounts of the Chinese missions to India and Nepal during A.D. 643–657, the references to Nepal contained in the T'ang Annals, both the old and new editions, and the brief reference to Nepal contained in the Dun Huang Chronicle are of invaluable help. The last inscription we have of Aṃśuvarṃā is dated *Samvat 44 Jyestha śukla* and the first inscription we have of Udayadeva has *Samvat 45 āṣādhakṛṣṇadvādasi*. So Aṃśuvarṃā must have passed away between *Jyestha Kṛṣṇapakṣa* of *Samvat 44* and *āṣādh śuklapakṣa* of *Samvat 45*. If we calculate these dates with an epoch- year of A.D. 76 and consider Aṃśuvarṃā's years as a *lokakāla*, i.e., *Samvat 44* = *Samvat 544*, then it works out as A.D. 620. This does not contradict Hsuen Tsang's observation about Aṃśuvarṃā as "the late ruler."

Similarly, the Dun Huang Chronicle records that in A.D. 641 (the year of the arrival of the Chinese Princess Wen Shing Kon- jo), *Yu- sna- kug- ti*

(Viṣṇugupta) was killed (*bkum*), and *Na-ri-ba-ba* (Narendradeva) was installed the King (*rgyal phor bchug*) with the help of T'u-fan (Tibet) where he was in political asylum after the overthrow of his father, Udayadeva, by his own brother, Dhruvadeva. (See Bacot, Thomas, and Toussaint, 1940:12; also Spanien and Imeda, *Paul Pelliot* No 1288, 1979). We have Bhīmārjunadeva-Viṣṇugupta's inscription upto *Samvat 65 Phālguna śukla 2*. The first inscription of Narendradeva is dated *Samvat 67 Pauṣa śukla 2*. So any time between *Phāguṇa śukla 3* to *Samvat 65 āśvina 30*, Viṣṇugupta must have been killed in the battle with Narendradeva. In A.D. 643, when the Chinese mission, headed by Li Y- Piao, visited Nepal, Narendradeva was already on the throne of Nepal. The date *Samvat 65* is equivalent to A.D. 641. ($565+76=641$). As the major source of political chronology, the limitations of ancient Nepalese inscriptions are that they do not ordinarily mention such important historical landmarks and political upheavals. Here the Tibetan and Chinese sources are a great relief to fill up the gaps in our knowledge of ancient Nepalese political and cultural history. It was Levi (1905- 8) and Petech (1958/1984) who first published and analyzed these materials.

Where Did Sumatitantra Come From?

Wherever *Sumatitantra* may have been written, it certainly was *not* in Nepal by a Nepali astronomer. Notwithstanding the mid 7th century Chinese compliments for the Nepalese (saying that they were “clever in the art of the Calendar- maker or they understand fairly well calculation of destiny and researches in physical philosophy”), whenever the *Sumatitantra* was compiled it certainly *was not* in “Mānadeva Saṃvat “304.= A.D. 880 ! The *Sumati* texts were, in all likelihood, brought to Nepālamaṇḍala, from Simrāungarh. So many texts on Indian sciences, particularly Astronomy, seem to have arrived from there. (See *Vṛhatsūctipatram* Vol. 1, which include, among others, Spujidvaja' *Yavanajāṭaka*, in engraved devanāgarī on palmleaf, Varāhamihira's *Yogayātrā* in Gupta script on palmleaf, Somayāji Sūryadeva's Commentary on śrīpati, palmleaf in engraved devanāgarī, Kalyāṇavarmā's *Sārāvalī*, palmleaf in engraved devanāgarī, the commentary on the *Sūrya Siddhānta* by Maithila-vājapeya-somayāji-śrīcandeśvara ācārya in Maithili script, Brahmagupta's *Khaṇḍakhāḍyam*, palmleaf in engraved Ancient Nāgarī). They may have been brought from Kaṇṇāṭaka, South India where Indian Astronomy continued to thrive till very late in the day. The practice of naming the solar months as Meṣa Māsa, Vṛṣa Māsa etc is prevalent in Kerala, Kaṇṇāṭaka, Mithilā, and Bengal. It is from that route that the *Sumatitantra*, *Sumati Siddhānta*, and *Sumatīkarāṇa* too must have entered the Nepal Valley. The arrival of the entourage of learned scholars from Smirāungarn, following the Muslim ravage of the city, may have been a

principal factor for the transmission of these texts. As the Dowager Queen-regent, Devaladevi (1326-1366), the wife of Simarungarha's ruler Harasimhadeva, ruled for forty years almost single-handed in Bhaktapur, her maternal home town. Among the several aspects of the Maithil culture assimilated by the Nepal Valley thereafter, one may very well be the arrival of the Siddhānta Jyautiṣa of diverse schools.

There are a large number of astronomical texts in the Bodleian Library, Oxford donated as a bequest by Candra Shumshere Rāṇa. This holding is at present being catalogued by Professor David Pingree of Brown University, USA. Part I of this catalogue came out from Oxford in 1983. There are some 320 manuscripts on Astronomy/Astrology (some of these are in palmleaf in Maithili/Bengali script) in the Asha Archives which have already been digitalized and scanned. So far not a single siddhanta text or a tantra text composed by a Nepali astronomer has been discovered. The Nepalese astrologers merely adapted some of the texts brought here to their own needs, at times producing their own *Sārīṇī* or *Karaṇa*, such as the one dated NS 582, in which the integers between Jyotirāj's *karāṇa* and Sumurti (i.e., *Sumati karaṇa*) are spelt out both in word numerals as well as in numerals. The more competent of them ventured to write commentaries, such as Balabhadra's on śatānanda's *Bhāsvatī*, Lakṣmīpati's on Maheśvra's *Vṛtṣatākam*, Kulānanda's on Varāhamihira's *Mihiraprakāśa*, and Devidatta Pant's on *Makaranda*.

The Relevance of Aṃśuvarma's Gokarṇa Inscription

A firm evidence for the *lokakāla* is Aṃśuvarma's inscription from Bāluwā village in Gokarṇa, dated *Samvat 536 dvitīyā pauṣa śukla pañcamī*, found in March 1990 by Shyām Sunder Rājvaṃśī, a promising epigraphist at the Department of Archaeology, HMG. Coming as it does *after* Aṃśuvarma's inscriptions dated Samvat 29, Samvat 30, Samvat 31, Samvat 32, Samvat 34, and *before* his Taukhel inscription of Samvat 37, this inscription as well as śivadeva I's Jyābāhāla inscription dated *Samvat 535 śrāvaṇa śukla saptamī* are the most tangible evidence of the fact that *there was only one epoch era in use in Licchavi Nepal*. The "the so-called Mānadeva era" (by the way, this is Petech's phrase used in his thoroughly revised Second Edition of *Medieval History of Nepal*, 1984: 12) is only a *lokakāla* (abridged) form of the Kārttikādi current śaka which has to be computed from Thursday, October 18, 76 A.D. The Gokarṇa inscription of Aṃśuvarma has finally sealed the fate of the late Naya Rāj Pant's favourite theory that there was a powerful feudatory called "Mānadeva II" because there is the so-called Mānadeva Samvat. That might be why Dineś Rāj Pant wrote "the swan-song" of their theory in the following words:

The inscription from Gokarṇa Bāluva also sheds some new light on the history of Licchavi period; new facts will be known about Aṃśuvarma....However, this inscription *sheds no light on the epoch eras in use in Licchavi period* (Dineś Rāj Pant, 1997: 3)

D.R. Pant jumps to such a desperate conclusion because in Chatre's tables for the expired śaka 535, there is an intercalation attested in Bhādra, or in Sewell's table for current śaka 536, in āśvina. Both should, according to Bhāradvāja's precepts as enunciated in the *adhimāsaprakaraṇa* of the DNTSS result in Saṃvat 536 āśāḍha intercalation. In the Aṃśuvarma's inscription from Gokarṇa, however, the intercalated month is Pauṣa. Unfortunately, neither the late N.R. Pant nor his disciples felt any need to verify the texts of *the adhimāsaprakaraṇa* to find out how many different versions are enunciated in *Sumati Siddhānta*. The fact that in the Gokarṇa inscription the intercalated month is Pauṣa, not āśāḍha, does not, in any way, prove "mathematically" that there was a King named Mānadeva II in Licchavi Nepal who founded the so-called "Mānadeva Saṃvat" in śaka 498.

This was a sad finale of N.R. Pant and his inmates' 57-year old dismal enterprise and intellectual somersaults to prove "mathematically" that there was a feudatory or King called "Mānadeva II" because *Sumatitantra* (OR 3564, NS 467; NGMPP No- B20/23, NS 495), *Harivaṃśa* NGMPP No. E6959; E 338/8 E 339/1, NS 775), and, of course, *Jātakajyā* (NGMPP No E 2051/16, NS 802) colophons mention a "Mānadeva Saṃvat". Parodying what Engels once wrote about Hegelian dialectics, it seems the late N.R. Pant, an acārya in Siddhānta Jyautiṣa, made ancient Nepali history "walk on its head."¹

Note

1. "The dialectic of Hegel was placed upon its head; or rather, turned its head, on which it was standing, and placed upon its feet." Frederick Engels, "Ludwig and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works*. Vol. II. Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1951, p. 350

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PROXIMATE CAUSES OF CONFLICT IN NEPAL

Dhruba Kumar

Introduction

The Stockholm International Peace Research Institute has made the entry of Nepal as a country razed by violent domestic conflict for the first time in its annual report SIPRI 2003. This is a loud expression of internal conflicts expanding to hitherto untouched territories, and interests generated by such conflicts for scholarship to focus on understanding domestic political violence that previously was simply dismissed as an affliction of the weak states. Despite a considerable decline in such episodes in 2003 from its peak period between 1989 and 1996 (Gurr, Marshall and Khosla 2001; Wallensteen and Sollenberg, 1996; SIPRI 2003), this global trend, however, is reversed in the case of Nepal where violence exploded in 1996 as "People's War" for the seizure of state power and continued as a protracted or persistent conflict. This deadly conflict is neither near to seize state power, nor militarily defeated, nor has achieved mass support. But the Maoists have vigorously pursued their agenda for establishing a Republican state by dethroning monarchy even when negotiating with different governments in the past. The government, on the other hand, has mobilized its security forces under a unified military command to crush the Maoists uprising (Rising Nepal November 5, 2003). Nepal, therefore, indicates a case of the spread of internal conflict along with the process of globalization (Keane 1996).

Some commissioned reports and other publications on the "People's War" in Nepal have proliferated in the recent past (e.g. ICG 2003a; ICG 2003b; ICG 2003c; Karki and Seddon 2003; Thapa 2003; Sharma 2002; DfID 2002) identifying various causes of conflict. Among them poverty, destitution and discrimination are poignantly presented as cases for breeding conflict. Social inequality and social exclusion are attributes for rationalizing conflict in a country like Nepal where rural-urban gap is widening and the neglect of the periphery by the centre is pervasive. This oppressive situation, according to Bhattarai, is not only related to the question of nationality but has become a national question to be addressed and resolved (Bhattarai 1998). The national question remains the state's neglect to deal with the burgeoning crises concerning centre-periphery relationships.¹ Shrinking resource base and denial of social opportunity are largely identified as causes of conflict and violence. Of the 40-point demand, the Maoists have enlisted 14 points directly related to the question of livelihood of the people and the situation of underdevelopment. Understandably, Nepal is, therefore, a minefield of latent

conflict given the context of social disequilibria created by misgovernance. These being the cases of propensity to violence have thus largely displaced the "development diplomats" in Nepal by a tribe of "conflict resolution experts."² And, the conflict study has become a growth industry in a country facing catastrophic impact of the Maoists insurgency and economic decline.

Conflict studies, particularly in the context of the Third World, have contextualized the causes of conflict basically to the situation of social exclusion and the centralized control of the state resources by a minority elite group. The economic determinism as a core of conflict has been taken as an explanatory tool for investigating social discrimination and increasing inequalities fuelling socio-political and economic antagonism internally (Muller 1985). The discourse in Nepal has also continued to revolve around development and conflict. Economic inequality, regional disparities and social exclusion prominently feature the conflict narratives, as most of the conflicts are concentrated in the low-income underdeveloped regions. But the question: "Does economic inequality breed conflict?" (Lichbach 1989) has yet to be answered properly. Quantitative methods used in studying the problem have not resolve the conflict puzzles. Nor had case studies based on grievance theories been helpful in unravelling the problem.

Perhaps economic inequality is an important cause but may not be the one that led to rebellion. Deprivation (Gurr 1970; Tilly 1978) has also led to grievance making it a potential cause of conflict: grievances in relations to social, economic and political segregation have persisted. Severe economic disparities causing abject poverty have pointed to grievances as a catalyst for conflict (Bray, Lund and Murshed 2003:107-32). Keen (1998), on the other hand, has observed that internal conflict also comprises of economic function for protagonists making short-term economic benefits. But, in the case of Nepal, economic inequality, deprivation, grievances or even economic benefits cannot be rationalized as the root causes of conflict. Violent insurgencies have erupted in Nepal not from the areas of abject poverty and deprivation, but from the relatively well-off areas. For instance, the relatively rich Jhapa district in the eastern Nepal was the first site of the Naxalite violence in the early 1970s, where the government had launched the land reform pilot project with American aid. Similarly, the Maoist movement has sprung up from the area where the USAID had invested over US \$ 50 million in the 1980s through 1995 on the Rapti Doon Integrated Development Project. The unintended effect of investing into development, however, is negative. Coupling development with conflict thus would be less explicable unless the structural impact of development is thoroughly explored and understood. The question therefore is that does development deliver?

Besides this, the ideational quest of the people related to their politico-religious beliefs and cultural practices have challenged the static view premised on the traditional concept of sovereignty and territorial integrity of

the state crafted by the Westphalian system. The assertion of the people's sovereignty over the state's sovereignty has become one of the most contending issues as the discourses on democratisation are increasingly being focused on the individual rather than collective entity like the state. Thus, conflict studies in the post-Cold War period have empirically testified that most of the conflicts are internal, and civil wars occurring in the poorest countries of the world and erupting into crises in places where there are human rights abuses in extremity. A significant drift in the conceptualisation of conflict from state-centricism to people-centricism has occurred in the process of the assertion of people for their legitimate rights as citizenry of a given state. This has led to a "problem situation" in the state-society relations and the tensions created by the change-resistant states have led to overt violent conflicts.

Political conflicts are features of the state management process and challenges to governance, particularly under democracy. Societal tensions, conflicts and grievances leading to political competition under democracy, if managed properly by the state machinery would be the constructive contribution to the advancement of the people and the state in question. The failure of managing grievances would certainly have negative impact on the state opening vulnerabilities with different consequences. The case of Nepal reflects this "problem situation" to which the government has yet to formulate a sustained response. Assertion of rights in relations to the question of livelihood requires mediation by the institutions to prevent the estrangement of the people from the state. Conflict theorists in Nepal have largely ignored the case of state failure, which is crucially linked with the leadership problematique in exploring causes of conflict. Most of the conflict literature on Nepal has confined analysis to the structural/motivational preconditions for conflict that had long existed but not on the elite behaviour as a crucial factor in generating conflict.

To my mind, there is still a theoretical deficiency in explaining how and why violence erupted in Nepal. Besides an assortment of conflict inducing factors related to structural conditions, which are adequately combustible and inflammable materials for explosion, what actually spur violence is not easily understandable. Because the Nepali case is unique: conflict in Nepal is neither generated for secessionism nor for separatism nor for self-determination, it is rather understood as an upheaval for grabbing state power through armed revolution. Power politics verging to the point of zero-sum game, thus, could be an explanatory cause of conflict under democracy where the competitive elite objective could rebound to the purse of the state through the control of state power. The precipitant cause of conflict in this paper, therefore, relates to the process of democratisation opening the floodgate of demands and political activities of all kinds not necessarily confined to the legitimate channels. My argument is based on the situation of democratic

transition where intense pressure for democratisation is constrained by the structural incongruity as well as institutional infirmities undermining the process of democratic consolidation. Thus, the process of democratisation remains unarticulated because the need of the continuous dialogue was largely discounted by the urge for reprisal. My concern, therefore, is to locate the proximate cause of conflict under turbulent democracy wherein the role of the leadership becomes more ascertained in determining the scale of cooperation and conflict in the competitive foray for political power. This paper therefore addresses the case with exploring the plausible and possible causes of conflict with an objective of transforming the "problem situation" to "problem solving."

To further understand the case, it should, at the outset, be noted that the facts before us are obvious: (1) Nepal remains constitutionally a Hindu State in a multireligious society (2) politically patrimonial, (3) economically exploitative, and (4) functionally incompetent and corrupt in the case of governance. These are the defining categories to which the leadership of the country is intertwined. These are also some of the major reasons constantly interrogating the Nepali society and continuously undermining the political process against the creation of an inclusive society by broadening the sphere of political participation, provisions of safety and welfare to the people and develop national resilience in achieving human security. Perhaps these are the indices fertile enough to produce conflict in Nepal.

Conflict Puzzles: Identifying the proximate causes of Conflict

Does the above indices explain the question: What lies behind conflict and violence? What are the reasons and propensity for violence? How and why has violence erupted? In relative terms, violence is associated with the people, defined pejoratively as a social category, which is principally illegitimate. Violence is generally described as a sickness, a social pathology. Men committed to violence are described as psychologically abnormal and their sense of status inconsistency and social marginality cause violence. However, the underlying causes of violence and conflict are universally defined as the persistent and pervasive socio-economic inequalities. Despite this, the fundamental structures of the Nepali culture have been that it has continued to produce greater social inequality by locking itself into a self-replicating culture of poverty. The social order established with the emphasis on the material wealth as a source of status and power as vividly expressed through the "thatched huts and stucco palaces" (Regmi 1978:152) and denial of rights and resources to the majority by minority have continuously reproduced poverty ever since the abstract notion of state as a modern entity took shape in Nepal through violence, war and conquest that began with civilization.³ (Regmi 1995; Stiller 1978). Despite violence being modern and a product of Enlightenment closely associated with the progress in science

and society, the term “violence” has ironically become : social evil as “violence from above” is now being questioned by the “violence from below.” Violence from below is a label tagged to the activities of the non-state actors who disturbingly challenge the essence of the supremacy of the state as a category defined to monopolize violence as the state property with the rights to inflict it on the people in the name of preserving and maintaining law and order and securing compliance.

In contextualizing violence and conflict in the case of Nepal, the question again is why have the seemingly peaceful and law-abiding people of Nepal suddenly turned to violence critically impairing the functioning of the state in response to their development needs? Why has violence erupted under democracy not under autocracy? There are some theories answering the question why has not conflict occurred before but now. According to one theory, the absence of deadly conflict before was the presence of the authoritarian regime, intolerant and repressive, leaving no room for compromise. The element of fear was the most considered aspect for the absence of violence. Closely associated with this theory is the notion that the collapse of authoritarianism/totalitarianism in the 1990s has brought the clashes and competitions between integrationist and fragmentationist forces to the open that have long embedded intra-state tensions. Accordingly, the process of tribalization has occurred in which primordial and ancient hatred subsisting amongst the people exploded⁴ (e.g. Gaddis 1991; Brown 1993; Kumar 1997; Shurke and Garner 1997). Thus, multiethnicity – the ethnic dimension – has prominently surfaced as the most important case for numerous states in turmoil in the recent past (Gurr 1993, 1994, 1997; Brown 1996).

Inevitability of conflict in a multiethnic society of Nepal is, therefore, projected as a given phenomenon (Gurung 2003a; 2003b; Sharma 2002; Lawoti 2002; Bhattachan 2000; 1995; Neupane 2000). In essence, the ethnic revivalism in Nepal has its origins in democratic constitution of the 1990 recognizing the country as the “multiethnic [and] multilingual” state (Constitution 1990: 3). Howsoever inadequate the stipulation may have been, it has ultimately outstripped the “harmonic model” pursued by the authoritarian regimes as an agenda for nation-building (Sharma 1986). The Constitution 1990, following the Jana Andolan, has rejected the process of nation building hitherto practiced by inadvertently recognizing the failure of governance in Nepal. The constitution itself has, ironically, become a controversial document with the assertion of being a Hindu state, however. The conceptual anomaly of being Hindu state catering to the interests of religious majority but recognizing multireligiosity while attempting to project a secular posture has itself generated societal tension questioning the formation of the identity of the state. Politics therefore has been ethnicised by the constitution by refurbishing the social structure predominated by the

religious Hindu majority encouraging ethnic revivalism. Ethnopolitics in Nepal has therefore one common plea to make against the manufactured truth of Nepal being one nation, one religion, one language and one cultural determinism seen by the indigenous people as the continuation of the legacy of the authoritarian past.

Authoritarian regimes, though unpopular to their core, are singularly driven by the urge of preventing dissent by cajoling, co-opting, threat of suppressing and actually repressing challenges to its authority illegitimately derived from the expression of raw power of the state. Democracy, however, is born with a twin called dissent where power and authority are in desideratum. A critical question in relation to Nepal under democracy has been the state of authority building by the elected representatives of the people in the government in which the state capacity to control remains seriously circumscribed as the maintenance of democratic regime become the priority rather than a process of governance. The circumstances under which the democratic regime in Nepal functioned was characterised by the process where "political institutions were too feeble to contain the centrifugal pluralisms emitted by political development, impotence rather than omnipotence to rule... [and] where authority was not deeply veined with custom and tradition, where it rested solely on the shifting sands of performance." (Keehn 1974: 333-337). On the question of performance, Nepal under democracy has not reformed, but sadly deformed (Kumar 2000: 18).

The power vacuum, thus, was a context in which political authority was challenged both legitimately and illegitimately as the performance of the governments narrowed down to seeking compliance through resource manipulation but driving dissatisfaction to the point of explosion. Conflict is, therefore, caused by the obvious power vacuum at the central level accompanied by the erosion of authority. Unlike in the authoritarian regimes, democracies are dispensed with the task of mediating demands channelled from several fronts constitutionally balancing the societal demands against institutional performances. The objective of the ruler's in preserving their position of power in authority clashes with the demands for performance. Failing which, when the rulers/ governments rely upon force, according to Nordlinger, "they tend to overreact to demands with the application of excessive force; the value of organizations with force at their disposal (the army and the police) is heightened; there is consequently a further loss of legitimacy; and finally the population itself turns to violence." (Nordlinger 1968:508). Simply stated, Nepal exemplifies the case. Attempts at suppressing the Maoists rebellion, particularly with "Operation Romeo" in September 1995, had brutalized the conflict. Hence, the leadership becomes a crucial factor in instigating conflict despite the consequence.

Perhaps the growing literature on the Failed State Syndrome intertwined with leadership behaviour can be useful in understanding conflict. The Nepali case can be understood under this rubric primarily because it resembles a situation of a failed state. Nepal reflects all the attributes of a failed state as defined by the State Failure Task Force (King and Zeng 2001: 625). According to the Task Force, the indicators of a state failure are: (i) sustained military conflicts between insurgents and governments, aimed at displacing the regime; (ii) sustained policies of protagonists resulting in the death of a substantial number of people or political group, and; (iii) an adverse and disruptive regime transfer with a major abrupt shifts in the pattern of governance leading towards authoritarian rule (King and Zeng 2001: 625). This situation perforce the people as the victims, their rights, their welfare and survival as both the contending forces have made them the prime target for their struggle for power. As a consequence of the participation and empowerment foregone, the state capacity to resist the violent upsurge has dwindled with the spread of insurgency in the country. In addition to this, the Nepali state is mired by social anomalies ranging from the discriminatory practices of the caste system, bonded labour to human trafficking despite laws prohibit such practices.

There is another theory based on the correlations between demography and violence developed on the basis of the empirical evidence provided by the pattern of violence factoring the age of the population as the crucial determinant of conflict. This theory consigns violence to the youthfulness of the population size of the country. Accordingly, the pacifist countries are those where the median age of the population is older than those found to have been involved in conflict.⁵ Taking demographic structure as a clue for defining criterion of conflict, the case of Nepal can be explored as a category of states where conflict proneness is naturally higher because of the youthfulness of its population size. Nepal is a country of teenagers. There are 49.86 per cent of the people below 20 years of age out of 22,736,934 persons recorded (NPC 2002:24). The people of the 20-29 years age group constitute 3.75 million. The median age of the population in Nepal in 1991 was 18.8 when the total population was 18.49 million. By 2001, the population of the country was 23.15 million and the median age 20.1 (MoPE 2002).

A comparable data on median age of population for 1961, when the country was in turmoil after the Royal coup in December 1960, was 20.9 years. The median age of the Nepali population was 20.3 in 1971, when the Naxalite movement in India and the liberation war for Bangladesh had energised the armed rebellion in Nepal. Similarly, the country was in tumultuous situation immediately after the national referendum in 1981 as the median age of population then was 19.9. Although the median age of the population was not exactly known in 1951, when the Nepali Congress led armed rebellion had succeeded to overthrow the century old Rana oligarchy

from Nepal, it was inferred to be relatively younger because, according to the population census held in two phases in 1952/54 covering the Eastern districts first in 1952 and Kathmandu Valley, Mahottari and rest of the Western districts in 1954 (DoS 1954:), the median age derived from this census report was 21.1 (NPC 1987:66).

Conjecturally, it can, therefore, be inferred that the median age of the Nepali youths during the Jana Andolan in 1990 was the crucial factor for the mass upheaval. Likewise, when the Maoists' movement surfaced in 1996, 52 per cent of the population in Nepal then was below 18 years old.⁶ Of every 100 children 93 lived in villages and dropouts from the schools were over 45 per cent. Their youthfulness, illiteracy and unemployment and the challenges for survival can generate conflict the probability of which cannot be ignored.⁷ Although inferences cannot be drawn from some cases to generalize youthfulness as being a tempting recipe for conflict in every country, can this phenomenon of being a country with nearly 50 per cent of young population, be taken as a clue to an understanding of the conflict puzzle in the case of Nepal? Perhaps juvenile literature can be a guide to a reflection on this state of affairs. The generational shifts in the attitudes of the young people, their values and aspirations and perhaps their sense of denial and desperation have led them to violence as a recourse to achievement and attention. This leads to some complex questions: Are discipline, order and sanity the properties of the adults and vandalism and antisocial behaviour are cases of vulnerabilities of the children significantly causing social disorder? Is rigid social order hindering a creative use of their potentiality the causes of conflict. Or there is a difference between the motivational factor of the people determined to preserve the given social order against those bent on to destroy it? The sanitized defensive measures undertaken by the "matured" moving towards a gated community have further repercussions as the government has dispossessed those in the lower hierarchy of social order. The situation, therefore, is complicated by the notional confusion that how much these theories explain the causes of conflict in the case of Nepal where the propensity to conflict points to every direction.

Knowledge construction by engaging the prior experiences in understanding a problem situation can be a basis for deriving insights on the subject of inquiry. One can build knowledge from the experience of other countries facing similar situation without being trapped by the rigidity of others' experiences and the lessons emanating from them. It helps construct indigenous knowledge emanating from the national experience making it the best guide for understanding a situation. For example, both the Dhami Commission (1997) and the Deuba Commission (2000) reports had identified abject poverty and destitution being the genuine causes for rebellion. Looking at the clue to the Maoists insurgency in Nepal, the indigenous perspectives that these reports have provided are similar, if not identical.

On the other hand, the Maoists have also pointed out the same, in addition to exploitation, discrimination and external dependency as compulsive reasons for taking up arms against the government(s). Socio-economic inequalities have been projected as the perennial problem causing national woes to which both the reports and the Maoists had pinpointed. Accordingly, the Maoists assert that they are, in fact, not the problem, but solution to the problems facing the country (e.g. Bhattarai 2003). "The principal objective of the People's War" that the Maoists have defined, "is thus to develop the social productive forces and create a higher form of society through a continuous revolution... by putting 'politics in command' "(Bhattarai 1998). Rationalizing the insurgency in the political-economic perspective the Maoists have clearly targeted their struggle against the "semi-feudal and semi-colonial" situation the state is experiencing under monarchy (Bhattarai 1998). So whence the threat and what is the dilemma for resolving the problem as the problem has been identified by both the contending parties to be the same? A comparable identification of the problems can also be found in the consecutive Five Year Plan documents produced by the governments since 1956 and the 40-point demands posed by the Maoists in 1996. Between these two dates comprising a period of four decade, the problem facing the country has been the same, the issues raised are the same, and the commitments made by different governments are the same. The problem is poverty and underdevelopment, social inequalities and marginalisation, discrimination and destitution, social craving and denial. The recent "position paper" presented by the Thapa government during the third round of talks with the Maoists has also reiterated commitments for reform (Kantipur July 26, 2003). If there is no divergence but convergence of views between the two protagonist groups why are they essentializing violence through rationalizing armed conflict? Is repackaging of their interests to resolve the conflict an inadequate measure in understanding the causes of conflict?

What factors should then be essentialized for the causes of conflict and violence in Nepal? Theories rebound to point out the challenges /neglects of development as progenitor of conflict (e.g. Lichbach 1989; Auvinea 1995; Thapa 2003:53-81). There is inescapable truth in identifying the socio-economic situation related to development as the cause of conflict, which the Maoists have also explained as being "oppressive situation" in Nepal (Bhattarai 1998). The characterisation of Nepal as overwhelmingly agricultural, primary material exporting country with low level of development and urbanization and even with low energy consumption are all features of high propensity to conflict. Besides, there are some other common factors explaining casual pathways to most civil conflicts such as

- The key to the politics of violence in specific countries is the exercise of state power and government policy to handle violence within society and by the state;

- Political regime change including recent transition to democracy, commonly inflames violence among groups;
- Persistent pattern of violence along with state rights abuses exist in every country;
- Large scale economic change, including programme for economic reform, are associated with rising level of violence, particularly among distinct groups and classes;
- Violent scapegoating of racial, religious, ethnic and sexual mischief persists in many countries; and,
- Violence remains a component of many groups' responses to the state, from spontaneous protests to armed rebellion (Ungar, et al 2002:2).

In the case of Nepal, there are other indicators of which some may be endemic; some others could be temporary but all are pervasive. The existence of any one of the following indicators would be sufficient to mark the state as being weak, instable and conflict prone:

- low level of socio-political cohesion;
- high level of political violence occasioned with state repression;
- political conflict over organizing ideology of the state;
- major recent change in the structure of political system;
- existence of a proportionally small urban middle class;
- rampant corruption and government unaccountability;
- low absorbing capacity of foreign aid and its utilization; and
- high level of external penetration (Kumar 1997: 13).

These classificatory notes explain both the existence of the subaltern and elite level factors for inducing conflict. Perhaps these factors in combination have influenced the Maoists' decision to enter into a violent confrontation against the state once the government foiled their efforts for amelioration through seemingly negotiable agendas (40-point demands). Capturing the state power through violent struggle becomes the norm in which the monarchy with its feudal attributes remained the target for restructuring the Nepali state (The Worker 1996). The Maoists have projected monarchy as the embodiment of all the evils in their revolutionary rhetoric. They have therefore gambled for the elections to the constituent assembly if negotiated settlement to the problem is to be found in order to clear the pathways for the future. They have made the issue of constituent assembly as the ultimate test case both for the monarchy and their republican position by determining sovereignty to actually reside on the people (Rajdhani April 28, 2003). The crucial reason for the deadlock to ensue during the third round of talks and the Maoists' resumption of arms conflict⁸ after declaring the 'ceasefire' to be void on August 27, 2003 was the government's inability to engage the Maoists on the issue and the modality for drafting a new constitution. The

situation is further complicated by the marginalised political parties' defiance to the government nominated by the king and their nonconformist posture towards the actions taken by the government against the Maoists.⁹

The complexity of situation can be further explicated with enumerating some noticeable trends in the context of Nepal. First, as the Nepali state has become utterly incapable of sustaining itself with civilian measures, it has slipped into a militarisation trap as a coping strategy against the internal violence. Second, the process of militarisation has further heightened the level of social tensions making the context intensely violent leading to the appalling domestic situation essentially undermining the judicial system. Third, the state has completely stopped delivery to the citizens the public goods they rightfully require. And, finally, the leadership void, particularly after the assertion of executive power by the king on 4 October 2002 (as monarchy is above the law of the land, his acts cannot legally be questioned as constitutional authority), has led the state verging towards anarchy. Again, the situation has been further problematised in the name of stability with centralisation of the state power. Democratic reversal has led to the emergence of a dominant power system with privatisation of power without any prospect of reform in the near future.¹⁰

Conflict Triggers: Conventional Praxis

In the case of Nepal, conflict has, thus, multiple causes. What keeps a conflict violent and continuing is different from what led it to start. There need not be any compulsive reason for the onset of conflict despite there exists sufficient condition for conflict to occur¹¹ (Kumar 2000: 31). Notably, numerous conflict-inducing factors exist. Societal cleavages have persisted and these can be all encompassing factors generating conflict. Nepal is also not a stranger to the clandestine political activities and violence in its history.¹² Retrospectively; both indigenous and extraneous factors were behind the birth of political parties in Nepal. Political Parties in Nepal were formed initially as groups opposed to the existing regime. Of these the Communist Party of Nepal formed in 1949 had singularly addressed the cause of conflict to be the structural problem emanating from the monarchical system with different degree of emphasis. The problem situation identified by the Maoists remains the institution of monarchy as the cause of conflict (Bhattarai 1998; 2001).

An understanding of the cause triggering conflict can therefore be made within the framework of the nature of the state evolved under the monarchical system of governance since the formation of the Nepali state in 1769 under the rubric of which multiparty democracy had functioned for slightly over a decade in the 1990s and collapsed. Democracy in Nepal has a long history of struggle against autocracy that culminated into violent conflict in 1990 leading to a political change with the establishment of multiparty parliamentary system along with constitutional monarchy. Unfortunately,

democracy proved structurally incongruent with the expectations of the masses and congruent with the nature of the state. Democracy was problematised by the constitutive principles of the Nepali state that has built the power matrix in the country since its inception. Four key ideas were laid behind the constitutive principles. The first was the indispensable power and authority of monarchy that the Hindu king of Gorkha has established. Second was the supremacy of the Hindu ethos in national life. Third, the Hindu social system based on caste division was promoted for social integration. And lastly, the Khas language—later to be known as Nepali language—spoken by the king and his courtier was recognized as the lingua franca (Sharma 1992). State building thus becomes a process in which the ruler(s) through combination of power of coercion, manipulation and co-option, imposed the cultural and moral values it uphold on population found within its boundaries (Bendix 1964; Connor 1972). The process of Hinduisation of the state therefore has become an intrusive category conforming to the pattern of social segregation based on the caste system with 'monoethnic and religious' supremacy.

This structural incongruity inadequately defining the Nepali state is reflected in the Constitution adopted in 1990 by declaring the country being a "Hindu and constitutional monarchical kingdom" that diluted the essence of Nepal being recognized as a "multiethnic and multilingual" state [Article 4). Although the state as a provider of fundamental rights to its people asserts that the rule of law would prevail and it shall not discriminate citizens on grounds of religion, race, sex, caste, tribe or ideological conviction" and none of the citizens shall be "deprived of the use of public utility" (Article 11.3 and 11.4), the Muluki Ain (Law of the Land) amended in 1992, however, has upheld the preservation of "traditional practices," continuing social exclusion (Gurung 2003b: 3-4). The constitution has refused either to mediate or to negotiate with the popular aspiration of secularising the Nepali society. Assertion of the exclusive position of being a 'Hindu State' has essentially delegitimised the process of democratisation of the Nepali society in which the projection of the national identity becomes contestable. Undeniably, the democratic constitution, thus, in itself becomes the precipitant to conflict. The constitution has failed to impart a sense of change in the caste-laden society that has continued to reinforce social segregation since the adoption of the Muluki Ain in 1854.¹³

Thus, the constitution becomes a document of contradiction in its assertion of Nepal being a "multiethnic, multilingual," state on the one hand, and the "Hindu" kingdom, on the other (Article 4). The problem situation from the standpoint of non-Hindus therefore revolves around the issue of Nepal being a theocratic state. Religiosity has become a largely contested domain in national discourse because this state ideology has reproduced social exclusion and cultural hegemony of the dominant group even under

democratic dispensation. Although the constitution has apparently recognized the minority rights, there is however, little discernible impact in practice. The limits to minority rights under democracy despite pressure for democratisation of the social sphere have exacerbated social tensions as the majoritarian multiparty democratic process clashes with the non-majoritarian demands for broader representation.

Complexities, thus, abound in Nepal's democratic transition in the 1990s, particularly, because of the compromise between the political leaders and non-elected traditional elites who remained decisive actors in the dominant power system. The constitution was framed to appease the traditional power structure rather than appealing the popular aspirations. The constitutional provisions defining the executive authority remained vague in crucial decision making arenas wherein monarchy retained the rights to command ultimate authority. Thus, despite the preamble of the 1990 Constitution has theoretically transferred sovereignty to the people, the constitutive dimension of sovereignty in practice was vested on monarchy.¹⁴ The constitution vests monarchy with a right to a decision on national emergency and his discretion on the use of Article 127 in exceptional situation along with power to the use of force as the supreme commander of the armed forces. In these three crucial aspects of the national decision making processes—namely, emergency power, exceptional situation and the use of force—the position of monarchy remains unaltered as well as undisputed. Again, the sovereign power of the state is related to “the exceptional case [that] has an especially decisive meaning which exposes the core of the matter...[that is also characterised by] principally unlimited authority, which means the suspension of the entire existing order.” (Schmitt cited in Gross 2000: 1839-40).

Testimonies to these can be found in the Nepali case where exception has become the rule and return to political normalcy an exception. Political development in Nepal throughout the 1990s had attempted to make certain discontinuity in normal practices. But the question of devolution of power against the centralised authority, however, was never seriously pursued. The leaders who had failed to create any enduring social base for democratic continuity acceded to no constitutional limits on the power of the centralised government. Democratic practices did not diffuse authority, but made the central government a locus of authority of the unitary state. The unintended consequence was the encouragement to the traditional power centre to manoeuvre the centralised authority in its favour. Politics simply subsisted with the fusion of the elected and non-elected authorities reducing democracy to the rites to passage for power. Circumstances against which the national emergency was declared, the parliament was dissolved and the assertion of the executive power by the king occurred are clear manifestations of democratic delusion caused by the political elites who had refused to reform themselves as well as democratise their political parties' function. Obsessed

with the position of power and purse of the state the political elites had sacrificed the norms of being representatives of the people making intra-party factionalism and personal antagonism crucial to decision making.¹⁵ The dissolution of the parliament in May 2002¹⁶ had no other compelling reason than intra-party rivalries that led to the split of the ruling Nepali Congress party and discontinuing of the local governments had put the final nail on the coffin of democratic polity.

Hence, besides the subaltern level analyses, the leadership can be considered as one of the most prominent and integral factors for the causes of conflict in Nepal. As the state in its functional terms is intertwined with the leadership that is embedded with the responsibility to provide welfare, representation and security to its citizenry, the leadership can, therefore, be considered and explained as a crucial catalyst for conflict because it relates to the situation of governance. As described above, democratic transition was not made by thoroughly discrediting the authoritarian regime but by striking a compromise between the continuity of the constitutive principles of the state and change in the mode of governance from non-party to party politics. In the scheme of multiparty democracy, the leadership has, although, broadly become the representative of the people, it has, nevertheless, remained loyal and tied to the constitutive principles of the state, which was not constitutionally deligitimised. Rather the constitution has deligitimised "any act which may jeopardize the harmonious relations subsisting among the peoples of various castes, tribes or communities" in Nepal (Constitution Article 12 e1, 3, 4). Similarly, through enactments of laws, both ethno-religious and regional based political parties were discouraged in the country in order to prevent the ethnic, caste and community polarization. It appears a sensible decision taken by the political leadership in preserving the status quo ante but proved insensitive to the popular aspirations demonstrated during the constitution-making period (e.g. Hachhethu 1994).

The act of desecularizing the state through constitutional design has, therefore, jinxed the process of democratisation that the political leadership reduced to procedural phenomenon through periodic elections. Subsisting representation through elections as the sine qua non of democracy the political parties have transformed democracy to the "tyranny of majority" by using the electoral legitimacy as licence to abuse power and authority. The ballot box democracy led to criminalization of politics making political participation myopic¹⁷ (Kumar 2001). Politics therefore entered a "grey zone" in which "winner takes all" led to institutional dysfunctionism of democracy compounded by political instability. In addition to this, the leaderships' inertia, their greed and grandeur, horse-trading and criminal enterprises caused political instability rather than the phenomenon arising out of spontaneous popular protests and violent opposition.

The unfair political competition revived the embedded psychological insecurity of leaderships belonging to different political parties with the uncertainty caused by severe intra-party factionalism, leadership centralization, organizational deficiencies of the party and government and over all by the impending elections. Since 1994 each and every succeeding governments had to function with a single agenda of commencing elections under its tenure in office. The priority for commencing elections had not only led them to amass elections funds through manipulation of the state purse for the party, personal or private regarding but also encouraged strategies to win elections through all means. The state, as being the lucrative institution for the flow of money, power and privilege, became the hub of political activities. The priorities of the political leaderships were therefore confined to the spoils of tenure in government and their terms in the parliament. Hence, both the parliament and government become embroiled in corruption (Thapa 2002; Shrestha 2001) leaving opposition to the state of "feckless pluralism" (Carothers 2002).

Parliamentary practices in Nepal had a compendium of records in adopting 275 bills of which the women's property rights bill and the bill regarding destitute and dalits are significant. But a majority of decisions were made outside the parliament on the basis of internal and external compulsions and the House of Representatives was used simply as a rubber stamp by the political parties (Kumar 2004: 146-171). Political parties become the umbrella organizations operating as patronage network by virtually transforming democracy to kleptocracy in which the political leadership functioned as "protection racketeers" with the sanctity of governments formed under the party flags as organized criminals. This contention has been substantiated by the self-confession of leadership suggesting that the governments functioning in Nepal were under the grips of mafia.¹⁸

Unfortunately, there was no sign of improvement. Governments functioned as musical chair game. Nepal had 12 prime ministers within the twelve years of parliamentary democracy. Most of the legislatures from the mainstream political parties had opportunities to become ministers. Even independent legislatures were incorporated as ministers in different coalition governments. The politics of patronization had led to ministerial portfolio distribution to 48 persons even to the extent of comprising four cabinet ministers without portfolio. Inter-party and intra-party wrangling had become so prominent that the government of the day had to survive on account of the numerical equation in the parliament. The crux of the problem of political stability depends on the tantrums of the parliamentarians not with the simmering discontent of the people excluded from the political mainstream. Demands related to governance were raised since early 1992, initially with 8-point demand put by the United Peoples' Front Nepal (UNFP) to be extended to 14-point. During the period of the CPN (UML) government, the demands

swelled to 36-point in January 1995, but were ignored in totality. Four more points were added to these demands to the successor coalition government led by the Nepali Congress Parliamentary party leader Sher Bahadur Deuba on February 4, 1996, but to no avail (Maharjan 2000: 168; Thapa 2003). The latter demand made after the repressive measures taken by the Deuba government in September 1995 had also urged the government to refrain from such heinous acts in the future (See Demand No.15 of 40 point Demand in Maharjan 2000).

Although one cannot refute the importance of the subaltern level factors in understanding the causes of conflict, as the 40-point demand has catalogued, the elite-level factor as being crucial cannot be ignored either. Since the leadership deliberately makes decisions, the elite-level becomes the catalyst for the causes of conflict. Vulnerabilities to conflict existed in Nepal at the subaltern level as preconditions, which demanded the leadership attention and response. But the leadership void under democracy left the challenges unarticulated, as the government did not seek out to defuse the challenge through mediation. Instead, the mode of managing challenge through repression made the leadership instrumental in triggering conflict.

Why? An explanation can be found both in perceptual level and traits of the leadership. First, at perceptual level, democracy has opened up all hitherto suppressed demands of the masses leading to the state's inability to cope with the challenges. Second, at the trait level of the leadership, the articulation of demands at the mass level was perceived to have escalated threats to the incipient democratic order duly established after the success of the Jana Andolan in 1990. The legitimate opposition spearheaded by the major opposition party – the CPN (UML) – in the parliament as well as on the street with a slogan of “sadan dekhi sadak samma” (from the parliament to the street) and determination to unseat the government within a week of its formation had already posed a handful of problems to the government headed by the Nepali Congress party formed in 1991 with majority in the parliament. The opposition was led by the major communist party in the parliament with the support of the United Peoples' Front Nepal—then the Maoists' front organization – with nine seats in the House of Representatives that had immobilized the government early in April 1992, thus, inviting repression by reported killings of 16 people in Kathmandu. This event shook the people and their hope in democracy being less repressive. On the other hand, the leadership had justified repression as it being anti-communist in a world that had just graduated from the Leninist extinction. The threat that democratic leadership had inculcated ever since the inception of the multiparty polity in the country was therefore related to the threats manifested with the communists' unruly behaviour. Thus the level of threat inculcated by the leadership was related to the demands of the opposition determining the response.

Though the parliamentary opposition in Nepal was a quite different case from the Maoists insurgency that was later fuelled by the leadership idiosyncrasy, it is however pertinent to understand the perceptual, interpersonal and intra-party relations contributing to violent conflict. First, the CPN (UML's) ascendancy as a formidable opposition party in democratic Nepal was historic in the sense that the party has surfaced from underground movement and its leaders were unknown and faceless figures. By reluctantly endorsing the Constitution 1990 it has participated in the democratic process merely as a survival strategy which was rewarded by a massive electoral votes in 1991 elections leading it to move confidently towards locking horns with the government through coercive bargaining. The CPN (UML), until very late, had treated the Maoists as "friendly forces," even with monetary assistance because the ultimate goal of both groups was described as establishing a republican state in Nepal.¹⁹

The experience of the elections to the local bodies in 1997 had clearly established this fact, when the CPN (UML) in government as a major coalition partner manoeuvred to win elections by an overwhelming majority with the alleged assistance of the Maoists insurgents by displacing the rival parties' strongholds. This caused further consternation in inter-party relations leading the President of the Nepali Congress Party, Girija P. Koirala, to publicly accuse the CPN (UML) as the real Maoists responsible for the political violence in the country over the years, while posing as a member of the ruling coalition only in the broad day light.²⁰ Despite the electoral violence, there are empirical evidences to suggest that when the CPN (UML) ruled the country the magnitude of the Maoists' violence was at the lowest ebb (Maharjan 2000: 172).

The Nepali Congress leaders, on the other hand, were dead sure in their perception that they were confronting a two front attack on democracy—one from the legitimate political opposition party led by the CPN (UML) and another from the underground extremist group comprising the Maoists to destabilize and destroy the democratic process through complicity. They were led to define violence in the country as a power struggle requiring reprisal rather than accommodation and compromise. The target of the opposition – both legitimate and illegitimate – was to thoroughly discredit the Nepali Congress party and destroy the democratic process. Ideologically, these two political parties had antagonistic history since their inception in the late 1940s. Particularly, the lurking feelings of the communists in Nepal being used by monarchy since the December 1960 Royal coup against parliamentary democracy have not disappeared from the leadership mindset of the Nepali Congress party. The sheer opportunistic political behaviour of the CPN (UML) under democracy has further entrenched this feeling when that party invoked nationalism as a criterion for alliance formation with

monarchy against the alleged pro-Indian and, therefore, unpatriotic Nepali Congress party.

The CPN (UML) as the mainstream communist party both in opposition and government was also undergoing a complex transformation as a consequence of the challenges posed by the Maoists questioning their Marxist credentials. Although the CPN (UML) remains ideologically opposed to the parliamentary system of governance, the party has however realistically appraised that there is no route to power other than competitive electoral process. Even their tactical support to multiparty democracy therefore becomes an imperative because they have refrained from the risk of taking uncertain course through violence in which there is a certainty of them becoming a second fiddle to the Maoists. Thus, on the question related to the Maoists and the ensuing insurgency, the CPN (UML) had, nevertheless, taken both carrot and stick measures to emerge as a central and powerful communist force in the country. On the one hand, the party had used the Maoists to serve its short-term interests through ideological complicity, as was evident in the case of the 1997 local elections. Similarly, the party as an influential member of the coalition government had also declared the Maoists as "terrorists"²¹ expressing hardening posture against them through reaching a cabinet decision to adopt anti-terrorist law, on the other. Though the anti-terrorist act never got through the parliament due to the mounting public pressure against the proposal, every successor governments, after the fall of the CPN (UML)-RPP-NSP government, were encouraged to probe on the bill. Likewise, every government since 1997 had probed the idea of military mobilization against the Maoists, only to be rebuffed until the national emergency was declared on November 26, 2001 and the anti-terrorist act was subsequently adopted.

Every government formed after the eruption of the Maoists insurgency were, therefore, inclined to use force to deal with the problem. None had seriously thought about the alternative to resolve the problem through negotiation. Though there are instances of the efforts towards negotiating conflict, these were half-baked and therefore unpersuasive. The three round of negotiations that the Deuba government held with the Maoists between August and November 2001 embroiled their differences rather than developing mutual compliance with sustained engagement. Another three round of negotiations held under the king's government in the recent past were not substantially different from the previous ones, as the problem remained unaddressed forcing the Maoists to break the talks and raise arms after August 27, 2003 (Kumar 2003; ICG 2003c). Negotiations had therefore stymied the situation from being encouraging for both parties to build trust as a precondition for peaceful settlement of the problem.

The pursuit for repression of the Maoists, thus, becomes an agenda for government of any kind. The Nepali Congress party government had earlier

pursued this agenda against the Maoists with massive combing operation code named Kilo Shera Two for a year between May 1998 and May 1999 till the national elections were held. This repressive measure was keenly supported both by the CPN (ML) – a splintered faction led by Bam Dev Gautam – and CPN (UML) led by Madhav K. Nepal, after securing their berth in the coalition governments formed by the Nepali Congress, one after another. Nearly 600 persons were killed during the yearlong operation in which the Maoists suffered heavily (Maharján 2000: 172). This led to the renewal of efforts on the part of the Maoists to strengthen their guerrilla strongholds with the development of the People's Army along the military formation despite their earlier claim of the existence of the Central Military Commission in February 1998 (Sharma 2001). Excessive reliance on force has become a single agenda for the governments in their counter-insurgency drive, particularly after November 26, 2001 (against the backdrop of the 9/11), with the official declaration of the national emergency for nine months and continuation of the anti-terrorist law with the provision of impunity to the security forces.²²

The critical question that relates to this narrative is what has triggered the conflict and why has conflict remains thriving? My submission is that despite the causes of conflict being numerous and latent, the leadership could have minimized the impact of societal challenges through mediation and sequential response, which was conspicuously absent in the policies and programmes of the governments. Instead, power politics at the macro-level led to the progressive breakdown in the authority of the executive and the governments ensuring the legitimacy crisis in general. Governance therefore becomes an alien concept for the leadership who were made and unmade by the numerical support in the parliament, not by their function of managing the affairs of the state. The leaderships spent most of their times on bean counting the intra-party and inter-party equations than equating their roles with the responsibilities they were bestowed with. Political authority was abused rather than used on the questions of national imports. As a mid-term evaluation of the democratic governance revealed, people at large were rather dispossessed than possessed by the governments formed under different party flags that had not even minimally met the basic needs (CSD 1996). This situation has been reflected in other studies because the leadership has confined to the social strata overwhelmingly composed of the high caste Hindu group constituting traditional elites who are temperamentally inclined to preserve the status quo (Dahal 2000; Baral et al 2001; 2004). As the democratic leadership becomes the inheritor of authoritarianism, the historical burden of expectations posed by different categories of people remained unarticulated while confronting the post-authoritarian polity.

The conflict trigger can thus be located in the form of unhealthy elite competition and conflict within the parliamentary system racing for the

winning support of the traditional institution of monarchy rather than sustaining public support through governance. At the heart of conflict in Nepal is the failure to implement any substantial and sustainable programmes directly affecting the welfare of the masses as indicated by the governments formed under the dominant political parties as a majority, minority and coalition. Electoral politics reinforced elitism and popular aspirations remained unacknowledged. Subalternity persisted and the political leaders to construct their power used the people at the margin as raw materials. Understandably, the pressure for democratisation, therefore, caused conflict that was coupled with the post-authoritarian dream of discontinuity from the past, making the political elites more vulnerable to their electoral positions in the absence of performance. The self-perpetuating behaviour of the leadership has further exacerbated the desperate situation to a point of reconfiguring the precipitants triggering conflict.

It requires further explanation in positing why and how has the leadership become more important than other factors for triggering conflict? Is there any irrefutable evidence to support this contention? Can this single factor explanation make a satisfactory understanding of conflict in Nepal? A definite answer to these posers would be difficult to arrive at this juncture. Certain indicators, however, lead to following postulations. First, the post-authoritarian politics in Nepal was the consequence of the long and arduous struggle made by the democratic leadership with popular support. Leadership, therefore, has become the strategic factor with a pivotal role to mediate social tensions through maintaining a working relationship among members of different social groups. Instead, the democratic leadership has spent energies and power in blocking challenges posed by real or imagined threats. Political parties functioned merely as an instrument for capturing power and thrived on the personal popularity of the leadership than on its programme and commitment. Hence, for those in the leadership, the personalistic power holders tend to look at the others within from their own parties and the rules and the institutions they represent as constraining and impinging on their will to rule. The leadership did not disavow continuity with the authoritarian state. The recurring tendency was to build the hierarchy of the loyalists from top down than democratising the function of the party and the state. The leadership objective remained excessive centralization of power leading to the dissolution of the popular convictions about power diffusion. Thus the leadership under democracy has provoked the conflict against the process and pressure for deeper democratisation.

The popular assertions of differences were in search of a platform for dialogue by addressing an audience, which, unfortunately have failed to achieve any substantial response from the part of the leadership. The incendiary effects of the demands, particularly posed by the Maoists in their previous form of the United People's Front Nepal, were ignored but not

contemplated by the leadership. The democratic leadership neither engaged nor influenced nor responded to the threshold of conflict inherent in ever expanding demands from the forces of alienation. Rather the measures that the leadership took to restore the situation from being explosive through the use of force had unintended effect of exploding the conflict. The reason for this was obvious. There was no adequate preparation for counterinsurgency mobilization either. Thus the sheer neglect of the leadership in every dimension of statecraft remains a proof for triggering the conflict.

Second, the democratic leadership in Nepal in the 1990s was operating in the most congenial domestic as well as international situation with donors' liberal assistance towards the consolidation of democracy. But the trust and expectations of both domestic and international popular support were belied by the leadership as the Nepali leaders failed to relate themselves to the institutional dynamics of democracy and the process of governance. The leadership was, therefore, characteristically democratic deficit type. The leadership is temperamentally found inequalitarian to democratic ideals identified with constitutional liberalism. It was just unethical and immoral on the part of the leadership to conceptualise a heterogeneous society as a Hindu Kingdom and continue to profess democratisation. The leadership has not sought to resolve the problems within democracy through social consensus but relied heavily on rules designed by the authoritarian regime to contend political activities during panchayat period.

Third, the leadership has unlearned the lessons from their past oblivious political experiences of being marginalised by the traditional monarchical forces after 1960 coup in the post-authoritarian atmosphere. Ironically, the democratic leadership forged alliances with the same forces in order to marginalise the emerging social forces from the political mainstream creating rupture in the state-society relations. Hardly any efforts had the leadership made to make the state responsive to the societal demands, tried for consensus building with the disgruntled groups to bring them back to the political mainstream and initiate any programme for changing the character of the state through social inclusion. Reform agendas with the contents of subaltern aspirations remained untouched, the restructuring of which could have become amenable for institutionalisation of the democratic process. As a consequence, there was a decisive breakdown of popular consensus forged for the democratic future of the state. The conflict today is therefore shaped by the same reform agenda on how to devolve and share state power through a comprehensively restructured polity bordering on the demand for republicanism.

Finally, the political/power elites have failed both at the macro-and-micro level of being a change agent. At the macro level they could not capitalise on the popular support garnered by the democratic movement and translate it into expanding their power base with policy measures. The political space

opened by democratic upsurge in the 1990s was mostly filled by the traditional elites as the parties functioned as oligarchic heritage encouraging familial link and redrawing support from the pre-democratic politicians/bureaucrats by filling different party hierarchies and government positions rather than neutralising their political as well as policy influence in decision making process. The elite structure remained unchanged (Dahal 2000: 131). Evidently, the traditional high caste groups dominated the political representation in the House of Representatives, the combined strength of which between 1991 and 1999 ranged from 62.91 to 67.70 per cent (EC 1991,1994,1999). Thus authoritarianism is formatted in the state-society relations through constraining participation by forcing the unorganised communities to support the populist electoral agenda. However, the legitimacy derived from the electoral process was salutary. The failure of performance of the leadership to anticipatory transformation of society has a corrosive effect on legitimacy. The consequent effect was the neutralisation of the citizenry in their identification either with the leadership or the government and decay in the support base to the leadership. This is evident at the moment with the absence of the popular support either for the reinstatement of the dissolved parliament or for the forming of the All-Party government by the leaderships of the marginalised political parties after 4 October 2002. To sum up, it should also be noted that none of the agitating political parties or the leaderships in their march to the streets have addressed the popular agenda for restructuring the state except for demanding power sharing by the king with the political parties.

Some Observations

In the case of Nepal, if one were to look at the maze of underlying causes of conflict, there is the certainty of creating a Tower of Babel. I have, thus, identified and chosen the leadership as the discrete problem and the underlying power struggles primarily responsible for triggering conflict in Nepal. The first factor contributing to conflict is political, which can be prominently observed in the behavioural pattern of the leadership whenever the question of redistribution of power and imparting social justice arises. The leaderships' inclination towards repression rather than conciliation on social demands; the absence of democratic practices and institutions providing a means for the people to mediate conflict without resort to force; alienation of the majority of the people from political process of the country have compounded the crises.

Secondly, the monarchy as an intervening factor in national polity has continued to be the problem situation structurally imbued with unending, antagonistic elite history of political development in Nepal. The institution of monarchy has temperamentally displayed its uncongeniality with the democratic process by exploiting the tensions persisting between the political

leaderships conducive to its emergence as a critical central authority even at the cost of suspending the existing political order. The current impasse created by monarchy with authoritarian streak in regime transformation from democracy to autocracy is reminiscence to what happened in December 1960 against similar situation, though, of lesser magnitude. Had monarchy and political leadership worked with a sense of obligation to history and ingenuity, they could have, perhaps, averted the misfortune of being the victims of popular contempt. Rather than becoming instrumental for regulating and maintaining systemic process they have become culpable for destroying the political order creating further space for the anarchists and the Maoists to thrive. Although defeating insurgency remains the primacy of current politics, the case of the paralysis of the democratic system has caused another crucial problem making the conflict triangular in nature wherein the monarchy has become the major target of contending forces. The issue of democratic deficit has conspicuously disoriented the political thrust of addressing the violent conflict caused by the Maoists.

Thirdly, the economic and social factors are prominently seen as conflict multipliers. The gross domestic economic inequalities leading to resources dispute among the masses against the background of depleting sources of sustainability provide a fertile ground for conflict in any social setting. Finally, there is a psychological factor concerning ethnopolitics that has continued to marginalize the ethnic masses by the high caste Hindus. Nativist thinking is becoming entrenched in projecting the conflict between the indigenous people and the settlers, as the high caste Hindus are defined in this category. This psychological factor has fuelled the urge for broadening representation in the national polity as well as equitable sharing of the national resources any delay in denial of which could embroil Nepal into ethnic violence. Fortunately, ethnic separatism is not the demands, although the Maoists have tried to cultivate the support of the Janajatis (indigenous people) by advocating rights to "self-determination even to the point of conceding to secession." These mass-level factors have persisted requiring proper response from the state. The Maoists have, to certain extent, been succeeded in raising the voices of subalterneity even though their violent forays have failed to proceed with subaltern mobilization.

Looking to the future, it should however be critically articulated that to think of democracy as answer to Nepal's problem is naive because democracy is a process which is inherently conflictual. The marked failure of leaderships to manage diversity has proved the inadequacy of the parliamentary process to absorb the thrust of societal demands in the absence of public accountability and institutional responsibility. Thus interrogating leaderships to make a dimensional change in their party organisation with democratisation of the social base and abide by the law of the land is a prerequisite for mitigating conflict. Besides, the classical situation that Nepal

faces in the power matrix is the presence of monarchy both in its 'active' and 'constructive' forms. Unless this problem situation is settled or neutralised the chances for this traditional and conservative institution to manoeuvre against democratic desideratum would persist. Thus, the right question for Nepal to ask should be how would the political leaderships consciously arrive at a binding consensus to patch up their differences caused by their lust for power the resolution of which may perhaps solve one-half of the challenges facing the country.

Comprehending the problem situation it can be stated that an enduring bequest of over a decade of parliamentary democracy was the crises of state pronounced with the violent Maoists uprising, economic decay and political uncertainty with the return of monarchy to the central stage of national politics. The institution of monarchy after 4 October 2002 has become the most prominent power contender arrayed against the legitimate democratic forces it has unseated on that fateful day and the Maoists as the extra-constitutional opposition. This situation has led to a triangular contestation for power where there are likely and unlikely pairs for power grabbing. On the one hand, monarchy and democratic forces can be the most likely pair against the Maoists, which is yet to be presumed. On the other hand, monarchy and the Maoists can be another likely pair against the democratic forces as the preference of the king to directly negotiate with the Maoists by marginalizing democratic forces had demonstrated. The third pair can be a combination of democratic forces with the Maoists to build pressure against the monarchy (as is evidenced by the 19-20 November 2003 Lucknow [India] meetings between the CPN (UML) General Secretary and the Maoists top brass). But unless the Maoists forsake violence the democratic forces would not consider them as a likely option. Finally, the possibility of these three forces coming together with a mutual agenda for dialogue can also not be negated outrightly provided that they agree to a minimum condition for normalcy.

Provided that the pairing of the democratic forces and monarchy is likely, this initiative should be made by the monarchy by either reviving the dissolved parliament or conceding to form the all-party government demanded by the parliamentary parties as a precondition for restoration of democracy. By this act the monarchy would be facilitated with the power to use an "exception" sensitising the circumstance. Though this decision will constitutionally be a "normless exception," because the Nepali constitution has no provision for restoring the dissolved parliament, such decision can nevertheless be made with a condition to hold elections to the local bodies or the House of Representatives within the six months of the revival of the parliament. Though the practicality of this decision against the ensuing Maoists terror can be questioned, such decision can, however, be influenced by three crucial factors. First, there should be intensive negotiations between

the two-likeminded parties clarifying their respective positions for future political dispensations.²³ The king's commitment to democracy should remain supreme, and the third, the parties must reform. But to realise this objective of the pair the king and the democratic parties have now also to take the armed forces of the country into confidence. Although the Royal Nepal Army is practically under the king's domain, it can also act independently in case its ambitions are undermined. It can be a threat both to monarchy and political parties in the event of unsettling of its priorities. Experiences have shown that the army is distrustful of political parties. Their disdain towards politicians has increased along with increase in their profile as a decisive factor in national decision-making process in counterinsurgency operations and their direct contact through the forging of military-to-military relations with foreign powers. Therefore the fundamental question of civilian supremacy that remains in the sphere of civil-military relations require to be decisively resolved if the pairing of monarchy and political parties agrees to return to normalcy.

The monarchy, however, has taken a different track than giving up the executive power of the state to the legitimate political parties. In his address to the nation on constitutional day on 9 November 2003, the king has asked all the democratic forces for their support to the "national government" formed by him in the interest of preserving the constitutional sanctity as well as peace, security and governance (Kathmandu Post November 9, 2003). The "national government" on the other hand, has become reckless in appointing partisan people to the vacant seats of local bodies and rhetorically preparing for the national elections to the House of Representatives without any groundwork to create a favourable national situation. This has further widened the gulf between the king and the political parties.

Second, the pairing of the monarchy and the Maoists would be possible only in case the Maoists agree to completely disarm and pave the way for normalcy by joining the electoral politics with general amnesty by the king. This would facilitate a radical change in the political alignment and structural reform in the country provided that the army and political parties endorse the move. This is not likely at the moment because neither the monarchy nor the Maoists have shown any sign of relapse or fatigue caused by the war weariness. Forces belonging to both the contending parties are better organized now than ever before. Their fighting skills have improved and their determination to cow each other increased.²⁴ It can therefore be assumed that unless a final showdown occurs between the armed forces and the Maoist guerrillas, the persistent confrontation cannot easily be transformed to cooperation.

Third, alienation from monarchy has significantly increased the possibility of the formation of a united front by pairing of the political parties and the Maoist guerrillas. This pair can make a common cause on the demand

for the election to constituent assembly for restructuring national polity provided both agree to peaceful mobilization of the masses. Alternatively, if and when the pairing occurs by resorting to arms, there is certainty of increase in bloodshed but uncertainty in the form of the government to be established after the war ends. The full-blown civil war in Nepal could also be a recipe for humanitarian intervention from abroad. This could become a catalyst for the political future of Nepal, as external forces are particularly averse to violence and coming to power of extreme radical forces in the country. Given the situation confined to a diametrically opposite motive pursued by the political parties for the restoration of parliamentary system, not a republic as posed by the Maoists, the pairing of the democratic political forces with the Maoists is most unlikely unless the monarchy becomes more repressive against the agitations launched by the political parties. Though the Maoists had earlier considered the political space for the disgruntled political parties by apparently recognizing their strength congenial to their cause, they have however assessed that political parties' infirmities are turning to self-extinction (Bulletin 2003). Analysing the conflict in Nepal from the standpoint of class relationship, the Maoists have firmly concluded that there is no third force between the forces of reaction and the forces of revolution.

Thus the nature of resistance and challenges posed by the Maoists are substantially different from what the political parties have normally aspired for. The undercurrent of tensions and antagonism between the political parties and the Maoists has been freshly addressed after the Lucknow talks between the CPN (UML) and the Maoist leaderships in the former's outright rejection for the joint struggle for a republican state (Mulyankan 2003; Koirala 2003). Despite political consternation developing to the demand for constituent assembly elections has been strongly articulated, political parties are yet to endorse it as an option for resolving the conflictual relations between monarchy and themselves. In the absence of any sign of reconciliation between monarchy and political parties, the situation therefore is in a flux.

My experience suggests that politics has become the real site of dispute articulated both in the shape of violence from the margin as well as structural violence pushing the country to a dead end. The Maoists' movement has a unique feature in Nepali history in the sense that this is the first ever rebellion that originated from western Nepal that has consecutively spread all over the country in comparison to the sporadic and short-lived rebellions originated in eastern Nepal against the state. The insurgency has polarized the national scene and exposed all the protagonist forces to desperation. The Maoist violence, however, has become a catalyst for the rise of conservatism with dangerous imprints of the assertion of political right by pushing democratic ethics to the edge. Besides this, the Maoists' ruminations of the guerrilla war, the pattern of violence they have unleashed has nurtured terrorism that can be

understood in the shape of the “warfare deliberately waged against civilians with the purpose of destroying their will to support either leaders or policies that the agents of such violence find objectionable” (Carr 2002: 6). Their heinous crimes against the citizenry, particularly since 1999, committed through indiscriminate killings, extortions, rustification of people from their domiciles and infringement in their personal faiths along with alleged destruction of religious and cultural sites had earned them a bad name fuelling popular alienation.

This brings in the interests of the fourth actor (s) in the shape of the external powers/friendly states in becoming an intervening variable in the violent conflict in Nepal. Their initial interests concern with the type of insurgency launched by the radical left forces against the democratic state that has been strengthened by their anti-terrorist resolve after 9/11 led by the United States. The sequence of domestic conflict in Nepal changed in the aftermath of the visit of the American Secretary of State Colin Powell in January 2002 and tied Nepal to a partnership on “war on terrorism.” The avowed purpose with which the American military assistance begins is to facilitate the restoration of stability in Nepal. Besides this, three prominent criteria have guided the American decision to aid the country militarily. First, Nepal has been a struggling democratic country in proximity to a powerful communist neighbour. Second, the country has plunged into a violent domestic conflict generated by the ultra-leftist elements leading to a near collapse of the democratic state. Third, the counter-insurgency support against the communist forces remains the political-strategic domain of the American foreign policy. Fourth, the most important and undisputable factor influencing the American rush to aid Nepal militarily is the “war on terrorism” that has become its doctrinal pursuit against the forces of terror after 9/11.

The United States has entered Nepal with a mixture of twin interests. Though its unilateral agenda has an element of consultation, it is however determined to aid one side in a conflict either deterring through presence or threat to act. Perhaps this is the reason why the United States has enlisted Maoists in the terrorist category. The pattern of the Maoists violence has been comprehended as terrorist rather than violence caused by insurgency, as the victims of violence are mostly innocent people or security personnel remaining outside the zone of conflict. Thus the American policy in Nepal can be cloaked behind the façade of “humanitarian intervention” against terrorism for which the US has set “no clear temporal or spatial limit,” in order to undertake actions to prop up a failed state (Farer 2003:59-90; Frost 2001:33-54).

The second, perhaps, the long term American interests involves establishing and consolidating institutional links between the armed forces of the United States and Nepal. Entrenching military to military link between

the armed forces of the two countries would be a novelty reflecting on the deepening of American interests in the post-Cold War period when, despite the rhetoric to the contrary, coercion and the use of force have normally become a primary option. The Americans can possibly exploit this institutionalised military relation for its benefits in the future to avoid domestic intolerance of casualties of the Native American Soldiers by employing the "Ghurka model." By recruiting and deploying Gorkhas as soldiers of fortune, if not from Nepal or the Royal Nepal Army itself, the United States can use these "mercenaries" as infantry units and circumvent opposition to combat casualty of the indigenous American soldiers in far flung conflict zones with American involvement. None other than the distinguished American strategist Edward N. Luttwak has cautiously suggested this model nearly a decade ago reminding the US government of its previous practices (Luttwak 1994:28). The military to military institutional ties that the United States is establishing with the Royal Nepal Army could exemplify a case of comprehending the quality of soldiers of Nepal and the prospective use of the Gorkha model in the future eventuality.²⁵ Perhaps this has been the reason behind the indirect American push for the qualitative upgrading of the Nepali armed forces with military training, arming and logistic support with numerical increase in the security forces. The Americans are firmly behind the government, which is evident by their declaration of the Maoists as the full-fledged terrorists group and a potential threat to US security interests.²⁶

Contrarily, the European Union's policy towards the conflict in Nepal has been concerned with the situation of human rights from the beginning. Perhaps this was the crucial reason behind Germany's refusal to supply arms to a conflict laden country like Nepal. It has also been reliably learnt that the two European Commission's (EU) Ambassadors had in their secret meetings with certain Central Committee members of the Maoists' party in Kathmandu recently have clearly warned them against the destruction of infrastructure, private property and indiscriminate killing of the civilians. They have also assured the Maoists that they would put pressure on the government to concede to legitimate social demands of the Maoists. The envoys have told the Maoists that the EU's policy towards them and Nepal, as a whole would be contingent upon the human rights situation in the country. They have also revealed the fact that the Maoists' destructive activities had given enough reason for the Americans to enlist them as a full-fledged terrorist group.

This is the background against which the Maoists had convened their politburo meeting and promptly responded to public concern with corrective measures on 20 October 2003 (Bulletin 2003). Neither Britain nor the EU in combination has considered the Maoists in Nepal as terrorists. As a matter of fact, these states are mostly disillusioned by the Nepali state's refusal to renovate and with the "childish" reactions of the high government officials to

the crucial national agendas than the Maoists' mission for reforming and restructuring of the state machinery. For instance, a senior UN official had to personally express a serious concern to the COAS over the misuse of the UN vehicles by the army in patrolling the streets in Kathmandu in extreme violation of their use in designated peacekeeping missions. Meanwhile, the EU's Deputy Charge d' Affairs to Nepal, Wenk Rudiger has publicly expressed his reservation against the use of force to resolve the Maoist problem. He chided the American belligerency against the Maoists asserting, "we don't see any basis for military force. Only way is sticking to talks if you can't win militarily." He has also hinted at certain foreign country helping the Maoists (Kathmandu Post 17 November 2003).

That certain country under suspicion remains none other than India. With its formidable presence in the neighbourhood, India figures prominently in the calculus of conflict in Nepal. Looming suspicion both in the elites and the masses that India is behind the Maoists' uprising dies hard. Despite India's declaration of the Maoists as the terrorists and the massive supply of arms and ammunition to the government, the India factor remains crucial in resolving the conflict. India has earned a bad name in Nepal because of the structural incongruity in bilateral relationships. Although both Nepal and India recognize that the need of cooperation between the two neighbours with open border is a must in order to thwart the threat of cross border terrorist activities²⁷ India, particularly the adjoining state of Bihar, has, however remained the unbridled conduit for Maoists activities against Nepal. A testimony to this has recently been provided by the state government of Bihar in a report submitted to the Union Home Secretary of India stating that the Nepali Maoists are jointly training with the Indian Maoists Communist Centre (MCC) and the People's War Group (PWG) to mount cross-border attack on Nepal (Cited in Spotlight 7 November 2003:5). Deployment of the paramilitary forces by India along the stretches of Nepal-India border since 2001 has yet to prevent infiltration causing ruminations from both sides.

One of the obvious implications of the burgeoning interests of foreign powers in the internal conflict in Nepal is reflected in the ever-growing military cooperation inadvertently encouraging the process of dependent militarization. This issue has not only become critical but crucial in determining the course of politics in Nepal impacting on its future development. Under the façade of the Maoists insurgency the relationship between the state and military is rapidly undergoing change where the forces as the 'instrument of state policy is becoming the major determinant for the state policymaking. This situation is ascertained with the bilateral military cooperation between Nepal and the United States supplemented by the arms supplies both from India and the United Kingdom. With the Maoists violence and increasing American interests in assisting Nepal to cope with the challenge, Nepal has been able to diversify its traditional dependent relations

with India. As the hallmark of military cooperation is national interest, it has become a strategic issue to be concerned with as there is only a hair split distinction between the military cooperation and the military pact, particularly between the client and protector state. Though the military cooperation between Nepal and the United States appears to be goal specific in developing the counterinsurgency capacity of the Royal Nepal Army through training, arming and logistics supplies and preventing the regime collapse, it is the easiest means for the protector state to penetrate the most sensitive apparatus of the state and therefore influence policymaking.

This is the reason why India has shown a considerable reservation against the growing military ties between Nepal and the United States despite its closer collaboration with Britain and the United States against terrorism in Nepal (Sibal 2002). For example, an editorial in the Times of India has questioned the US arms transfer to Nepal, "If Pakistan based cross-border terrorism violates Indian sovereignty, the same sovereignty is no less transgressed when, despite the 1950 treaty with Nepal, Indian sensibility is ignored by Mr. Powell's explicit offer of military aid to the Himalayan Kingdom... . [D]espite Nepal falling within New Delhi's area of 'security interest,' [it] is now being brazenly mocked by Washington's overflying of Indian prerogatives... . [I]t is a situation that does little credit to India as it undermines its primacy... ." (TI 2002, emphasis added). India has obviously not compromised its normative thrust in policymaking towards Nepal that remains constant in preserving its national interests of monopolistic stakeholder in the power equation and keeping the rest guessing. This is natural for a country like India, which not only absorbs the displaced people from Nepal but also provides a safe haven for the "terrorists" from Nepal against whom the Indian government is officially committed.

Thus, the situation in Nepal is becoming more complicated than normally understood. Internally, the governmental paralysis caused by the Maoist insurgency and the popular disapproval of the suspension of democratic process by the monarchy have led to a situation in which the domestic complexities are portioned with the zero-sum game. Neither the Maoists, nor the political parties nor the monarchy has climbed down from their rigid positions and have come forward to seek mutually acceptable solution to the problem confronting the state. Irreconcilable domestic dissensions in Nepal have adequately provided external forces to show their legitimate concerns. The question therefore remains: how can this situation be dismantled and open up the political space for reconciliation?

What is to be done?

The measure that should be taken to change the situation from hopelessness and despair to a situation of hope and optimism is first to recognize the real problem situation. Are monarchy and its insatiable ambition to rule the

country unassailable by any forces the real problem? Or are the political leaderships with proven inefficacy to govern the state a fundamental reason for conflict and consternation? Do the Maoists pose a problem or are the Maoists a consequence of the problem? For a general observer of the national scene these posers are themselves a problem to understand correctly because none of the protagonists concede that either of them is the problem. But solutions to the problem have become like chasing mirage. Thus, what is to be done? To my mind, these three protagonist forces should break the shell of cocoon of their self-righteous assertion of their role in the state in favour of making a breakthrough in the deadlock. This requires a thorough review of previous positions taken by the three contending parties in order to assess correctly the present situation and move from the past to the future. If their positions are unbridgeable the ensuing deadlock can be freezed temporarily to clear the mess with voluntary compliance. Within the framework of voluntary compliance the three contending parties can agree to discard mutual acrimony and build confidence. Trust that requires to be built should not be at the cost of sacrificing their important values. But while attempting for mending fences neither should be overzealous in preserving and protecting one's value at the cost of others.

First of all, the contending parties have, thus, to recognize that the tradition of statecraft practised in Nepal is a failure and reverting back to the prior process for retaining the status quo would be horrendous for the national future. Second, violence, both from above and below, is neither a substitute nor a remedy for all-pervasive social ills. Third, the need of a retooling of the state should thus be recognized as a priority concern of all. The beginning can be made by the monarchy with sensitising the national scene through its avid commitment to nation building process as a partner not as a proprietor of the Nepali state. The monarchy should convene a meeting of the national human rights groups; involving credible members of the civil society and the political parties in order to evolve a political consensus with the Maoists leading to the announcement of a truce as a standstill agreement for at least six months with strictly abiding to the code of conduct. The responsibility for monitoring the code of conduct impartially should be given to the SAARC Secretariat by activating the interests and stakes of member states in establishing peace and stability in a co-member state. It should also be ensured that none of the major powers interested particularly on domestic conflict in Nepal should be permitted to promote partisan interests.

Step two should be the priority vested on political parties and multiparty democracy by drawing all-party consensus for the formation of a national government for elections. The elected government will initiate negotiations with the Maoists on core issues of national restructuring. Through negotiations and bipartisan consensus arrived at by the government and the Maoists they can either opt for drafting a new constitution or decide for the

elections to the constituent assembly for drafting and adopting a new constitution. Step three would be the national elections for the tenured government in accordance with the consensual constitution.

Perhaps these measures could be a painful process towards building peace in Nepal. But they are worth considering against the uncertainty of continuing violence and national devastation. A win-win situation for all leading to self-implementing rather than enforced agreement in resolving domestic conflict is the best choice.

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Notes

1. See among others, Blaikie, et al. Nepal in Crisis, 1980.
2. There is massive literature on the Maoists insurgency in Nepal based on journalistic and mushrooming conflict resolution experts' accounts. A majority of literature produced so far is recycled materials rather than serious endeavour in understanding the subject. The value of these materials, however, is in their use in developing general perspectives on ensuing conflict in Nepal.
3. According to Quincy Wright, "War in the sense of a legal situation equally permitting groups to expand wealth and power by violence began with civilization.... Only among civilized people has war been an institution serving political and economic interests of the community, defined by a body of law which states the circumstances justifying its use, the procedures whereby it is begun and ended, and the methods by which it is conducted." See his monumental work, *A Study of War*, p. 39. The state system, in fact, is the war system. "The state system has evolved into a specific type of world order in which war plays a central role." War is still fought in the name of preserving the world order as glaringly exemplified by the case of Afghanistan and Iraq. For the latter citation see, Falk and Kim, eds., *The War System*, 1980: 11. Resistance is a phenomenon, which is, however, called violence and therefore illegitimate.
4. After the disintegration of the Soviet empire, the Balkan tragedy has been mostly explained under the premise of the ancient ethnic hatred subsisting amongst the Serbs, Croats and Muslims, particularly in Bosnia, dehumanising bloodshed in Sarajevo and the fragmentation of Yugoslavia, ignoring the fact that these ethnic people have coexisted for centuries even to the extent of maintaining marital bonds and celebrating interethnic harmony. The conclusion therefore is obvious: ethnicism cannot be contextualized as a single explanatory tool for eruption of violent conflict in the case of Nepal. Had the ethnopolitics been the crucial element in the violent conflict, the people of Tarai would have been naturally pitted against the Hill people of the country whose exclusion from the national mainstream has been pronounced even by the former Deputy Prime Minister Badri Prasad Mandal as denial of the citizenship rights to some 4 million Madeshi people (inhabitants of Tarai) immediately after he was appointed by

King Gyanendra as a member of the Chand Cabinet (November 2002 - May 2003).

5. This theory based on the relationships between the population group and conflict is fairly advanced recently by the Centre for Strategic and International Studies, Washington DC. Based on the study of the world's 25 most youthful countries, the Centre has identified that 16 of them are undergoing major violent conflict since 1995. The most notable exception, however, is the case of Croatia where the median age of population is 38.8 years old. Correlating youthfulness and violence, the study asserts that China's median age during the Cultural Revolution was 19; Iran's median age when the Shah was deposed was 17; Palestine's is 17 and Yemen has 15 years of median age. Iraq, Syria and Pakistan all have median age of less than 19. Liberia has 16.6 years as the median age. In Sierra Leone it is 17.9. All these countries have undergone and experienced violent conflicts and some are still in the vortex of conflict. Contrarily, the median age of the most pacifist countries like Japan is 41.3. Europe is another example of the pacifist countries where demographic change caused by ageing has created another sort of problem. The study also suggests that all of the youthful countries are not necessarily embroiled in violent conflict. Perhaps democratic stability and the provision for social security are insurance against violence in some countries younger than Nepal in the median age of population. But the absence of violence in some youthful liberal democracies and economically well endowed countries cannot be made a case to refute the correlations between youthfulness and violence as a perceptible research agenda, particularly, in the case of Nepal.
6. The average population growth per annum in Nepal is 2.24 per cent. The youthfulness of the population is an indicator of the higher fertility rate. According to the 1991 census data, the median age for marriage for male was 22.4 and female was 18.1 which has slightly improved in 2001 with 22.9 for male and 19.5 for female median age for marriage (MoPE 2002:31). 1996 is the year denoting a 5 years gap between 1991 and 2001 census record.
7. Citing the statement an UNICEF official, a newspaper reports "some 235 youngsters die everyday in Nepal from largely preventable diseases, while more than 40 per cent suffer from malnutrition and less than 40 per cent complete a basic five year education.... At least 30,000 children have been separated from their families and forced into labour. And the problem was getting worse." See The Himalayan Times, October 18, 2003:1. Human poverty in rural area is almost double than the urban area of Nepal. The Human Poverty Index (HPI) for urban area is 23.9 and for rural area is 41.4. The HPI for Nepal is 39.2, which is among the worst in South Asia. See, UNDP, 2002. Nepal Human Development Report 2001: 20-21. Some 300,000 people join the labour market every year of which some 80 per cent remain unemployed.
8. Actually the army pulled the trigger for the Maoists resumption of the armed conflict on the day the third round of negotiations begun by brutally killing 19 unarmed Maoists in Doramba, Ramechhap district signalling their defiance of the truce.
9. There are 18-point programme that the agitating political parties have mutually publicised to implement whenever state power would be restored through

parliamentary means. Prominent among these are the confining of the title of Sri 5 to the three members of the Royal family only – the king, the queen and the crown prince. They have also advocated for making the royal family abiding to the law of the land as well as bringing the Royal Nepal Army under the firm control of the parliament. For details see, NC, 2060 (2003).

10. For a fresh controversy over the king's dictates to change the recommendation of the Constitutional Committee in accordance to his wishes see the disclosure of the speaker of the defunct House of Representatives, Tara Nath Ranabhat made at the Central Committee meeting of the Nepali Congress Party on November 26, 2003. *Rajdhani Daily*, November 27, 2003:1. See also, Harihar Birahi, "Kahilesamma Chalachha Yo Nautanki?," (How Long will this Drama Continue?), *Saptahik Bimarsha*, November 28-December 4, 2003:1 and 23. The planned enlistment of 8,000 recruits for the army and diversion of Rs. 1.70 billion for the defence purpose again is the fresh indication of the government's resolve to suppress the Maoists through the use of force. See *Kathmandu Post*, November 22, 2003:1.
11. Personal conversations with the people in different districts of Nepal that I have occasioned to visit between 1997 and 2003 point out numerous factors as being responsible for the Maoist insurgency that can be broadly divided into political and economic causes. The political causes are: (i) the active role of monarchy in government decision making; (ii) increasing corruption and criminalization of politics; (iii) challenges to free and fair elections; (iv) minimum representation of women and Janajatis; (v) privatisation of education; (vi) human rights abuses; (vii) dual ownership of land and the absence of scientific land reform programme; and (viii) lack of political commitment and misgovernance. Similarly, the economic causes are: (i) growing unemployment; (ii) increasing social inequalities leading to widening gap between the "haves" and the "have nots"; (iii) unbalanced growth causing rural-urban division; (iv) politicization of rural development programmes; (v) neglect of agricultural sectors; and (vi) growing corruption with predominance of commission agents in economic decision making promoting external interests. The causes of conflict described by the people are mostly related to their everyday life and are closely linked with the questions of their survival.
12. As a matter of fact, opposition politics in Nepal begun as an underground social movement against the hereditary Rana regime in the early 1930s leading to the birth of Prachanda Gorkha in 1931 and Praja Parishad in 1935 in Nepal. Though the ultimate goal of these parties was to overthrow the Rana oligarchy, their open advocacy was social and religious reforms. Ethnic revolts were also episodically sporadic ever since the conquest of the Kathmandu Valley in 1769. For example see Gurung (2003b: 14; Bhattachan 2000:140).
13. The *Muluki Ain* 1854 asserting the hierarchical mode in the society has categorised the people following the Hindu social code into five distinct groups to impart a sense of distinction between the rulers and the ruled defining caste and outcasts. For details see, Sharma, 1977; Adhikari, 1984; Bista, 1991; and Stiller 1968.
14. The way the proclamation of the constitution was made by King Birendra in November 1990 was itself a tricky affair. King Birendra pulled out the document

from his pocket, instead of the one presented to him by the Interim prime minister. This behaviour of the king signifies the retention of the state authority by monarchy in Nepal. See the Constitution of the Kingdom of Nepal 1990:1. Controversy over sovereignty however remains. But in the Nepali case, Carl Schmitt's dictum on sovereignty appears more relevant than legal interpretations. According to Schmitt, "sovereign is he who decides on the exception.... [I]t is precisely the exception that make relevant the subject of sovereignty, that is, the whole question of sovereignty." (Gross 2000: 1831). In the case of Nepal the emergency power is vested on the king. Although the emergency power is an exception, the decision of the monarch, however, remains supreme. His entitlement to use Article 127 of the Constitution is not questioned despite his direct intervention in national polity under the façade of the same constitutional provision remains controversial.

15. Here it would be of interest to note how crucial decisions are being made. According to the former Prime Minister Sher Bahadur Deuba, he was being advised by the incumbent Prime Minister Surya Bahadur Thapa to postpone elections for the House of Representatives scheduled for November 2002. The presently incumbent Minister for Communication Kamal Thapa drafted the letter he had submitted to the king requesting for the postponement of elections. See his interview in *Dristi Weekly*, 18-24 November 2003:5. Both of these politicians belong to the rival Rastriya Prajatantra Party not the party led by Deuba after his split with the Nepali Congress Party that elected him.
16. The intra-party rivalries within the ruling Nepali Congress Party was caused by the party's decision against the extension and endorsement of the national emergency for further three months by the parliament. Apparently, the Nepali Congress along with other parliamentary parties had opened the back channel negotiations with the Maoists to ease the violent situation through consensus building for a progressive amendment of the constitution leading to political reform. The parliamentary parties had reached a consensus towards this end to table the constitution amendment bill with the opening of the parliamentary session. Unfortunately, the parliament was suddenly dissolved with the executive feat of the prime minister. Sher Bahadur Deuba, who was then instrumental in dissolving the parliament as the prime minister, has, in a recent interview, said that "In fact, there is a constant tussle [for power] between monarchy and the political parties ever since 1951. How long will the country bear this situation? This is the core of the problem...." *Dristi Weekly*, 18-24, 2003: 5.
17. Although the total votes cast during the three General Elections were over 60 per cent on average, analyses of the ways elections were conducted in the five districts show a majority of voters had never seen the ballot paper but votes are cast in their names. Elections, in fact, were synonymous to the use of money and muscle power. For details see, Dhruba Kumar, "Social Structure and Voting Behaviour," pp. 205-06 and 223-26.
18. The notion of 'protection racketry' and 'organized crime' has been borrowed from Charles Tilly, 1985: 69-71. For the latter remark see the self-confession of Prime Minister Girija P. Koirala's in the parliament. *Kathmandu Post*, August 12, 2000.

19. Citing Deputy Prime Minister and Home Minister, Bam Dev Gautam, a newspaper stated, "The Maoists and the UML are friendly forces although their path differs." See Jana Astha Weekly, May 7, 1997. The CPN (UML) had donated Rs. 800,000 to the Maoists when it was an influential coalition partner of the RPP-CPN (UML) government in 1997. For details see Deshantar Weekly, July 13, 1997. According to Padma Ratna Tuladhar, an MP of the CPN (UML), "The Maoists people's War is the product of the Marxist philosophy, therefore, the CPN (UML) and the Maoists are not different in principle." He was clear in his view in suggesting, "communists cannot be monarchists. The UML has the long-term goal of establishing a republican state in Nepal. As the present situation is not favourable, the party had to play a dual role. After it increases its strength, there will be another revolution in Nepal, which will abolish monarchy and adopt a presidential system...." See his interview given to the Saptahik Bimarsha, May 16, 1997. In fact, the CPN (UML) and the CPN (Maoists) had drawn their inspirations from the Naxalite movement in India. The former Maoists who had wrecked havoc through Jhapali movement in early 1970s today largely constitute the CPN (UML) leadership.
20. Himalaya Times, May 15, 1997, Kathmandu Post, May 15, 1997. Subsequently, a member of the ruling coalition government and the spokesperson of the RPP, Kamal Thapa also endorsed the views expressed by Koirala. Himalaya Times, May 16, 1997. The General -Secretary of the RPP, Pashupati Shumsher Rana also deplored the violence and anti-social activities being supported by political parties, by indirectly pointing his fingers towards the CPN (UML). Kathmandu Post, May 16, 1997.
21. Bam Dev Gautam, as the Deputy Prime Minister and Home Minister of the CPN (UML)- RPP-Sadbhavana coalition government had accused the Maoists as being terrorists, which was immediately contradicted by his party colleagues like Tulsi Lal Amatya (deceased) and Padma Ratna Tuladhar. For the latter' view see note 19.
22. The National Emergency was declared on November 26, 2001 for three months period to be endorsed and renewal by the parliament. The Terrorist and Disruptive Activities (Control and Punishment) Act was promulgated on the same day through an Ordinance, which was passed for two years by the parliament in April 2002. Under Section 20 of TADA, the members of security forces are provided immunity from prosecution or "any other person" for "any act or work performed or attempted to be performed by him in good faith under the Act" (Informal 2002).
23. There are 18-point programme that the five agitating political parties have mutually publicised to implement whenever the state power would be restored through parliamentary means. Prominent among these are the confining of the title of Sri 5 to the king, queen and the crown prince. They have also advocated making the Royal family responsible to the law of the land as well as bringing the Royal Nepal Army under the firm control of the parliament (NC 2003).
24. While addressing a meeting of the government secretaries on 22 October 2003, Prime Minister Surya Bahadur Thapa has disclosed his decision to militarily defeat the Maoists for resumption of peace in the country (Himal Khabarpatrika 2-16 November 2003:39). Accordingly, on 4 November, the government

announced its action plan prioritising peace and security under a “unified command” to be led by the Royal Nepal Army (Rising Nepal 5 November 2003). The action plan has emphasised on the civil-military campaigns as a means to tackle the Maoists problem (Kathmandu Post 5 November 2003). On the other hand, the resolution adopted at the conclusion of the Politburo meeting of the CPN (Maoist) on 20 October 2003, has shown determination for a centralized offensive against the enemy despite making certain tactical changes in programme affecting the common people (Maoist Information Bulletin No.6, 25 October 2003).

25. Under the contract of the British firm Global Risks Strategies, the Americans have already deployed some of the ex-British Gurkhas in the Iraqi theatre on guard and patrolling duties. See Krane, 2003.
26. The US Deputy Secretary of State Richard Armitage has designated the Maoists as a terrorist group through a notice published in the Federal Register (Himalayan Times, 1 November 2003). For a non-official but important American perspective on Nepal see also the Executive Memorandum # 862 prepared by Dana Robert Dillon of the Heritage Foundation, Washington D. C., entitled “Preventing the Maoist overthrow of Nepal,” and another piece on “Nepal’s Maoist Insurgency” by Steven C. Baker of the Centre for Security Policy, Washington D.C., posted on FrontPage Magazine. Com on 25 July 2003.
27. The Indian Ambassador to Nepal, Shyam Saran, has repeatedly reiterated that the terrorist activities of the Maoists have also impinged on the security sensitivities of India. [Thus] there is no question of India being unhelpful on this particular issue. For instance, see his interview to the Rajdhani Daily, 26 January 2003:5.

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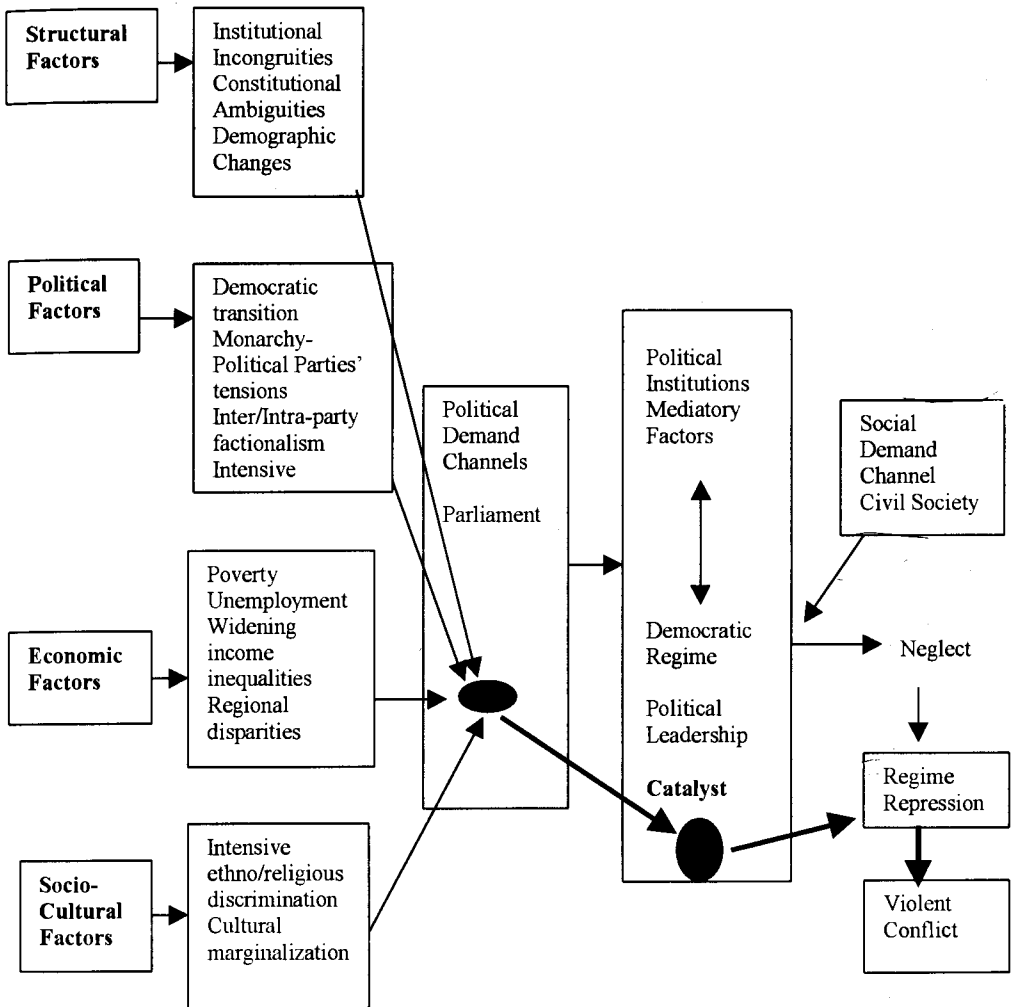
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Simple Sketch on Proximate Causes of Conflict



SOCIOLOGY IN NEPAL: UNDERDEVELOPMENT AMIDST GROWTH

Chaitanya Mishra

Rise of Sociology

The rise of social sciences in the post-16th century Western Europe has widely been attributed to the enormous political, economic and cultural contradictions--and struggles--generated by the twin crises of feudalism and "faith", the working out of reformation and renaissance, the rise of capitalism and, later, of the structure of democracy.¹ This large-scale and drawn out dislocation and crisis could find resolution only with a radical reorganization of life and society. This reorganization involved the creation, among others, of an expanded European and global market for wage labor, commodities and reinvestment of profits; the class and state systems; relatively centralized production regimes which usurped the role of the household as a center of production; spatially and socially disattached and "free", often migrant and urbanized, labor; a culture of "faithless" reason, doubt, empiricism, "scientific temperament" and of human and socially generated, rather than supernaturally delivered and preordained, progress; and norms of citizenship. It also involved the democratic and liberating influences of the American and French revolutions, the industrial revolution, the Soviet and other socialist revolutions as well as the much more drawn out processes of decolonization, state formation and democratization as well as nationalism, modernity and developmentalism within the newly independent regions and countries.

The comprehension and explanation, control and reshaping, and prediction of this large-scale political, economic and cultural struggles and transformation, which generated wide ranging and intense departure from the established order at multiple levels--ranging from individual and group identity to the nature and relationships among individuals, households, states, classes and the multifarious constituents of the global system were the planks on which the social sciences were founded. Intellectual frameworks aligned with feudalism and faith were rendered incommensurate for the comprehension, explanation, prediction of and intervention into the processes of struggle and transformation as also of the transformed social world. Further, the transformation, by its very nature, signified an end to the stability of the old world and generated successively new rounds of systemic as well as anti-systemic struggles and transitions within and at local, intermediate and global levels and in the structure of relationship among them. The altered and ever-changing social world, in turn, necessarily demanded a mode of social enquiry that was based upon the assumptions that the social world was

historically (rather than divinely) constructed, that it was eminently knowable (rather than mysterious and humanly unfathomable) and that it could, within the limits and facilities set by historical processes—as well as conscious and organized human social action, be consciously reshaped and reorganized. The altered and ever-changing social world would also demand an empirical—as opposed to "authoritatively received", mode of social inquiry. Not only was the larger structural and state level political authority consistently challenged but the social world, which was diverse, unstable, complex and changing and, by most accounts becoming ever more so, demanded that even the "social scientific authority"—including those which emanate from specific metatheories, established research practices and organizational structures, e.g. the university system, undergo "reality check" on a continuing basis and revalidate itself in the process. The new social world both obliged and encouraged newer social visions, theories, sets of information, interpretations, critiques, modes of social control and platforms for action. The social sciences in Europe and, later, the USA, were founded within the context of this large-scale transformation.

Specialized fields within the social sciences largely evolved during the 19th century in response to the expansion and intensification of the transformation itself, the popular struggles that this transformation entailed, the multifarious impacts on religious affairs, polity, administration (including colonial administration), law, economy, culture, etc. it generated, and the emergent structures the transformation created, e.g. state, market, urbanity, impoverishment, crime. The demands of the state structures for information, analysis and policy making—and implementation thereof—in order to selectively contain, expedite and streamline the process of transformation and its impacts and to ameliorate some of the politically and socially damaging effects of the transformation, as well as the struggles of urban workers and their unions, activities of social reformers and charities, as well as the social science academia played significant proximate roles in the evolution of the specialization in the social sciences. The social science academia was slowly gaining legitimacy as an interpreter of specific aspects of the new and evolving social world and as a potential "fixer" of the multifarious "social problems" generated by the transformation. The success gained by the increasingly specialized natural sciences contributed both to the legitimacy of the social sciences in general as also to the "promise" held out by specialization within the "science of society". The part played by social "sciences", in particular, political science, public administration, economics, law, and anthropology, during the colonial era further justified their utility.

It was also within this space that sociology was gradually erected in Europe over the 19th century. The nature of the new, un-feudal, "faithless", familially and spatially "unhinged", migrant, urban, industrial, capitalist, class-based and conflict-ridden society, with pockets of extreme poverty,

exploitation and seeming hopelessness was not only relatively unfettered from a host of traditional anchors of order and control, but it also raised the specter of rootlessness and normlessness. Uncertainties loomed large. Further, the rapidity of the transformation—and the successive waves of transition in social lives—and the relative of unpredictability of the future course of transformation were being widely and intensely discussed and acted upon.

It was this transformative cauldron which created the space for sociological thinking. Sketching and elaborating the features of the new society, as contrasted with the older forms, expectedly, was the first item in the agenda of such thinking. Comte's "law of three stages" and Durkheim's explorations on the bases of religion, education, and anomie, individualism ("egotism") and social integration in the new society were symptomatic of such thinking. Durkheim's explorations also constituted a significant quest for the bases of order and stability in the new society. Similarly, Weber's vast corpus sought to map this transformation in economic, political, administrative, social and psychological terms within a deeply historical and cross-societal comparative matrix. Marx's even vaster corpus, in turn, laid bare the history and functioning of the new mega-structure of capitalism—the mother of all transformations, the contradictions that it produced and sharpened, the impact it generated on everyday social and personal lives, and made the case for political action to challenge it. All four sociologists, in addition, elaborated new epistemologies necessary in order to investigate the new society: empiricism; non-reductionism and "sociologization"; historical analysis, interpretation and "disenchanted objectivity;" and historical-dialectical materialism. For Comte, Durkheim and, to a certain extent, Weber, the new investigative perspectives would also legitimize Sociology as an independent discipline in its own right. The institutional and financial bases of sociology, within the university system and with a certain level of public support, were rather painstakingly built upon during this period. It must be said, however, that the activities of many grassroots social reform associations lent legitimacy to sociology and to the strengthening of its institutional and financial base.

Following the relatively sterile interwar years, during which rural and urban sociology, symbolic interactionism, the "theory of action", and a couple of other broadly ahistorical perspectives (with the exception of critical theory which emerged in Germany during the 1920s) made their beginnings, the functionalist perspective gained a near-hegemonic metatheoretical status in sociology and anthropology, particularly in the US. The rise and high dominance of this conservative perspective, which lasted till the mid-60s, has legitimately been attributed to the historically unprecedented economic growth and prosperity in the US during the aftermath of World War II, the masking of latent conflicts that such rise in prosperity afforded, the actual

absence of major and overt conflict, and to the ascendance of the US to the preeminent position in the global hierarchy.

Two of the key features of the post-World War II scene, particularly with respect to the colonized and other "third world" countries, were decolonization and "modernization"-led development. Decolonization and "modernization" were at once liberating and "imperializing" (excepting, to a certain extent, in the Socialist countries): The "natives" were liberated from particular colonial countries while at the same time that world-scale capitalist imperialism was strongly revitalizing itself to incorporate the globe following a five-decade long hiatus characterized by two world wars, the rise of the Soviet system, and one great depression. The image that the "modernization" framework cast was one of unilinear growth and development within which the more modern and developed polities, economies, cultures and peoples, including those within the modernized and developed states, in effect, constituted the future of the less modern and less developed. The states and peoples which were "traditional", non-modern and less developed had only to traverse an already charted path, including in relation to the generation and utilization of knowledge (including sociology) at the "local" level—given that the "universal" was already sketched at the global level. It was merely a matter of filling in. This perspective was mirrored at the national level as well. Global, state, and market—as well as most "non-governmental"—structures and institutions had just begun to engage in the search for "system-compatible" and "usable" information and interpretation. The search for such information and interpretation, which was large in scale, formed the bulk of social science work. The job market for sociologists was decidedly influenced by the search for such "usable" information and interpretation put at the service of modernization and development. These processes, which, among others, transformed the non-Western settings and peoples into the "other" and which coalesced within "orientalism" were, in turn, laid bare and severely criticized, during the '70s, among others, by Edward Said, Talal Asad and others.

Within the Western countries themselves, the rise of the civil rights movement, anti-Vietnam War protests, and women's and student movements during the late '60s and the early 70s there, however, led to a serious questioning of the functionalist position, as also of the empiricist and ahistorical stance. These movements and protests have also had the effect of substantially expanding the sub-fields of sociology as well as the job market for sociologists within the governments, semi-governmental institutions, the private sector, international institutions and the universities.

The post-70 sociological thinking, in turn, has remained "pluralist": Even as the functionalist, empiricist and ahistorical stances remain widespread and "legitimate", last two decades have encouraged introspection (e.g. Gouldner 1971, Clifford and Marcus 1986, among others), textual analyses, powerful

interpretations of the interconnection between power and knowledge, and the interconnectedness of macro and the micro structures and processes. The world-systems perspective has been a singular contribution of the post-'70s sociology, as is the feminist perspective. In addition, the post-'70 period has seen the elaboration of a host of other frameworks which seek to include the experience and struggle of a variety of "excluded" groups, e.g. the "races", ethnic groups, the caste groups, migrants, senior citizens, disabled. History, holism, conflict and contradiction are in. Expansion of sub-fields and the job market, in the meanwhile, has continued, despite at a lower pace, not the least due to the rightist, neo-liberal and state minimalist position advocated and practiced since the '80s. Within the "developing" countries, the embracing of developmentalism and its corollaries—international financial assistance and policy "guidelines", international non-governmental organizations, etc.--have further opened the job market for sociologists and social anthropologists. Ethnic, regional, and other voices and struggles for "inclusion" and wider demands for democratization and expansion of public services have also opened up the professional space for sociologists and social anthropologists. The obverse has been the case as well: Some sociologists and social anthropologists, at least some of the time, have disagreed to honor the agenda and themes put forth by modernization, developmentalism and globalization, critiqued them, and found and worked with other frames and themes.

Finally, during the '80s and the '90s, serious questions have been raised on the legitimacy of the existing disciplinary contours and boundaries in the social sciences as well as on the legitimacy of the accepted theory and practice of social sciences—including sociology and social anthropology. Calls have been made for tearing down the old but strong walls between social sciences on account of the fact that they inhibit insightful inquiry of the new social conditions. Calls have also been made for modes of social inquiry which are historically and politically self-conscious and which are at the same time plural, local as well as universal (Said 1978, Clifford and Marcus 1986, Wallerstein *et al.* 1997, Wallerstein 1999, also see Amin 1997: 135-52, Sardar 2002). The widespread call for indigenization of sociology and anthropology raised primarily—although not exclusively—by non-Western academics, including those in Nepal (see below), are also, at least in part, based on the "lack-of-fit" between political, economic and cultural conditions within the global metropolises on the one hand and the peripheral regions on the other. The academic word of the metropole is seen to misrepresent the social world of the outlying regions, societies and peoples.

Embedding

This rather long-winded introduction has been intended as a platform to enter into a discussion of the state of sociology in Nepal. It has argued, among others, that

- The emergence as well as the specific nature of evolution of sociology (as well as other social sciences) is predicated on the scale and intensity of social struggle and social transformation. As argued in the preceding section, the large scale and intense social struggle and transformation in Europe, particularly during the 18th and 19th centuries, led to a *zeitgeist* which insisted on the historical and worldly—rather than mythical and ecclesiastical—nature of the social domain. This revolutionary *zeitgeist* systemically and gradually transformed *all* social practices, e.g. forms of government, forms of economic transaction, structure of the household, identity of an individual, as well as *all* branches of social expression e.g. art and literature, physical and biological sciences *and* to the emergence and transformation of "sciences of society", including sociology and anthropology. Even as the Nepali society is making significant transition away from faith-directed and feudal traditions and towards a more democratic political culture at various levels and sectors, and even as the sciences of society are seeking to learn from the Western academic tradition, the peripheral, dependent and unsustainable nature of the capitalist transition, the restricted nature of the urban and public domains, the miniscule, underdeveloped and non-polyvocal bourgeoisie, together with largely state-dependent organization of higher education, relatively non-demanding and relatively unprofessionalized academic systems, as well as functionalist and developmental emphases that the carriers of sciences of society have taken on. The hegemonic impact of the Western academia, on the other hand, has also led to an inordinate emphasis on receiving rather than generating knowledge.
- The emergence and the specific nature of evolution of sociology is also predicated on the nature of the transition, i.e. what and which political and economic structures and regions, ideologies, institutions, classes, groups are driving the transition, how the dominant structures are negotiating the transition with other, less dominant structures and the relative strength of the other less powerful, but nonetheless competing, structures. The more powerful generally usurp the right to characterize and "speak for" the less powerful. This essentially is the crux of the practice of "orientalism" (see Sardar 2002 for summary as well as critique). Speaking for others, however, is not a monopoly of the orientalist tradition, a point which is powerfully brought out in Clifford and Marcus (1986). Such "filtering frameworks" also operate at the national level in the "developing" countries and bear significant implications for the development of social sciences (Guru 2002). The interconnectedness between power and knowledge implies that the powerful, unless systematically resisted and exposed, cannot but seek to usurp the authority of representing, often misrepresenting, "the other". This strain is strong in Nepal and comes in the disguises of "salvage

anthropology (and sociology)", romanticism and a strong reformist, developmentalist, and modernist sociology and social anthropology. There has, with the last decade, been some improvement on this front, however. Encompassing political debates and transitions (during after the 1990 political transition and the ongoing "Maoist" struggle) as well as ethnic, regional and, to a certain extent, "gender", perspectives and voices have been ascendant during the last decade. While not all of these have yet been translated into the sociological and social-anthropological proper, these cannot but leave marks within the discipline within the next decade--even as the urban, the upper class and upper caste, statist, modernist and developmentalist interests may continue to dominate the sociological enterprise. The ethnic and regional voices are already being translated into sociological and social-anthropological agenda. Further democratization of the polity in Nepal, which is inevitable in many ways, is likely to expand push these academic initiatives further.

- The emergence and the specific nature of evolution of sociology and social anthropology in the West on the one hand and the rest of the world on the other are of an embedded nature. This embeddedness was principally founded upon the structure and processes of the colonial and capitalist transition that the non-Western polities, economies and cultures underwent beginning the 17th century (see Frank 1998 for the interface between Asia and the rest of the world). In addition, between the 1880s and the 1950s, many of these countries also underwent further capitalist and imperialist as well as anti-colonial, nationalist and democratic transitions and struggles. Social sciences--together with other forms of knowledge and expression--in these structures and countries developed both as *constitutive components* or *critiques* of these specific struggles and transitions. Social sciences there also developed as components or critiques of the post-World War II global and local structures and ideologies and practices related to developmentalism and modernization, capitalism and imperialism, formation of new state structures, nationalism and statism, as well as democratization, the enlargement of the public domain, expansion of public administration and the empowerment of the newly created citizens. The affirmation and re-mapping of the identities, political roles and life chances of the diverse class, caste, ethnic, religious, regional, linguistic, gender and other groups mandated by encompassing political, economic and cultural transitions also shaped and reshaped the social sciences and sociology and anthropology. The stamps of these structures and processes can be found in sociology and social anthropology in Nepal as well. Academic organizations at the higher level are largely state financed, although there is a growing private presence there. (Most private higher education structures, however, gain from indirect state support as well as more

direct "subsidy" from state-financed academic organizations—principally in the form of teachers who agree to work on part-time wages in private colleges partly because they continue to receive full-time wages from state-financed colleges.) Developmentalism is a strong theme within the syllabi and it largely drives the research agenda. The state is almost universally seen as playing the most significant role in relation to development and modernization. Nationalism remains a key and overarching reference point in syllabi, research outputs and discourses on development, modernization and even class, caste, ethnicity, gender and regionalism. The syllabi do emphasize critiques of these dominant preoccupations but only a small number of academics view these transitions critically enough.

Embedding has become much more intense during the post-World War II phase of globalization. The expansion and intensification of the global political, economic and cultural interface has had a pronounced implication for the shaping and reshaping of sociology and social anthropology in the non-Western countries and, lately, within Western countries as well. The evolution of sociology and social anthropology in the non-Western world, in this specific sense, is an heir to sociology and social anthropology in the West and, thus, to a substantial extent, inherits both the promise and the pitfalls held out by the discipline. In a rather curious but highly significant twist, this embeddedness, among others, is also beginning to reshape the discipline in the West (e.g. Clifford and Marcus 1986). This embedding encompasses multiple dimensions, among which the economic interface and its political—and military (e.g. the "war on terrorism")—implications have been widely discussed. This embedding, more to the point here, however, also shapes what is defined as knowledge, the identification of valid modes of generating knowledge as well as the production and distribution of knowledge. The West remains highly privileged on all these accounts. As such, it is privileged in developing the frameworks of social science inquiry and defining the agenda of the social sciences (cf. Wallerstein *et al.* 1997: 33-69, Wallerstein 1999: 168-184 in particular) as well as in the production and distribution of texts and references (including specialized disciplinary journals). This privilege allows the Western academic establishments a much higher level of access to global information and literature, organizational competitiveness, resources and professionalization. The search for the nomothetic, the general, the grand theories and the metatheories, and universal "laws", privilege the West. These, in turn, generously contribute to the powerful edge that Western sociology and social anthropology has over the practice of the discipline in other areas of the world. The larger economic and political privilege necessarily "rubs off" on Western academia in as much as the West not only has

already "been there" but also "gauged and weighed alternatives and possibilities" and the rest is at the stage of "catching up". Within the context of the embeddedness of the larger political and economic system and the hierarchy therein, the production of homologous and unequal intellectual and academic hierarchies are rendered inevitable. Nonetheless, and despite the growing debate on globalization at the global and national levels, the evolution of specific structures and processes which shape the polity, economy and culture in Nepal are often visualized by sociologists and social anthropologists as uniquely local products. The macro and the long run remain highly underemphasized both in the syllabi and the research agenda. The sociology of the interconnectedness of the global, the national and the local, the dynamics of this interconnection, and the implications this interconnection has on the present and future lives of different social categories such as regions, classes, genders, ethnic groups, caste groups, the poor, etc., on macroeconomic and other public policies and their implementation, and on processes such as democratization and centralization, have remained largely neglected with sociology and social anthropology in Nepal. Similarly, the developmentalist and functionalist vision, which remains dominant, has de-emphasized the teaching and research on frameworks and themes such as politics, conflict, struggle, resistance, etc., despite, among others, the ongoing "Maoist" rebellion.

- The "delinking" of the global on the one hand and the national and the local on the other, also becomes clear from a perusal of the "state of sociology" writings in Nepal. Most such writings fail to see the multiple levels of embeddedness involved in the evolution of sociology and social anthropology in Nepal: embeddedness of the polity and economy in the West and the evolution of the discipline in the West, global and national embeddedness at the level of encompassing political-economic frameworks, and the embeddedness of political-economy of Nepal and the evolution of sociology and social anthropology in Nepal. This is an area that needs urgent redressal.

Sociology in Nepal: Institution and Growth

We can now discuss the overarching as well as much more proximate institutional bases of the emergence and growth of social accounts, social sciences and "pre-sociology" in Nepal. It must be emphasized right away, however, that the roots of such endeavors have to be sought not only in other "disciplines" such as literature and in economic, political and social history but also in accounts of emerging social reform associations, agrarian conditions, labor migration, structures of resistance, popular struggles, etc. Both "literature" and social accounts, however, remain extremely sparse right till the 20th century. It has to be recalled that the literacy rate in 1950 was

approximately 5 percent, the first college was established in 1917 and the 1946-1951 Rana regime was politically highly controlled and autocratic. The tradition of oral and/or reconstructive history and sociology has been weak as well (see Burghart 1984, Oppitz 1974, Blaikie, Cameron and Seddon, 1980, Mikesell 1988, Ortner 1989, Shrestha 1971, among others, however). This certainly remains an area where significant contributions can be made within sociology and social anthropology. Nepali sociologists and anthropologists, who have remained almost exclusively preoccupied within the "agenda of future" i.e. modernization and development", have been particularly unproductive in reconstructing the past as also in analyzing a historically informed present. Such reconstructions have to give "word" to the emerging world of transitions characterizing Nepal during the 1850-1950 period. We should be reminded also that those who dared to put to word the contradictions and transitions during the period were severely discouraged, incarcerated, exiled or put to death altogether.

Nonetheless, there is significant scope for sociological reconstruction based on historical accounts. Mahesh Chandra Regmi's documentation-based historical accounts, particularly those related to the agrarian features of the 19th century Tarai, the conditions of life of the peasants and tenants there and their relationship with the state and its intermediaries as well as the social implications of contract farming (Regmi 1978, 1984), has proved an extremely fertile site for a variety of social science disciplines. There is no doubt either that Regmi's corpus will continue to fuel much sociological reconstruction in future. The pain and suffering of the early 19th century Hill peasants, under conditions of Nepal-East India Company war, has been well sketched in Father Ludwig Stiller (1973, 1976) as well. Similarly the accounts provided by other "historians" such as Prayag Raj Sharma, Kamal Prakash Malla, Harka Gurung, the *Itihas Samsodhan Mandal* and others have created a productive platform for sociological reconstructions. More recently, Bhattarai's (2003) Marxist account of Nepal's political economy has provided a rich source for further reconstruction of socio-spatial relationships in Nepal. The old "colonial" accounts by William Kirkpatrick (1811), Francis Hamilton (1819) and Brian Hodgson (1880) also constitute good source materials for a historical analysis.

If struggles and transitions make and re-shape social experiences—and therefore social accounts (including "pre-sociological" accounts), modern social accounts would have to begin from the period of the rise of the world colonial-capitalist bastion of the East India Company and the implications it had on the reorganization of states, markets and peoples in the north Indian region, including Nepal. The shaping and reshaping of Nepal and the peoples who inhabited there was carried out within this specific global and regional context. The accounts of Mahesh Regmi and Ludwig Stiller (including *The Rise of House of Gorkhas*) constitute a "local", "insider" and Nepali

perspective on these events and processes, but it is obvious that the shaping and reshaping of Nepal and the peoples there was far more than a "domestic" event. Regardless, this shaping and reshaping resulted, among others, in the "silent cry" among the peasants of the Hills (Stiller 1976), as also in the creation of semi-capitalist agrarian conditions in the Tarai (Mishra 1987). It is likely that the encompassing civil code of 1854 (Hofer 1979) constituted an attempt to come to terms with, and regulate and reshape, the political, economic, ideological and normative transitions during the first half of the 19th century within a broadly autocratic, statist, Hindu, modernizing, rationalizing (in the Weberian sense), East India Company (and British Empire)-friendly, and dependent-capitalism promoting set up.

Some of the economic, agrarian, social and international implications of this set up have been described in considerable detail by Regmi (among others, in Regmi 1978, 1984; also see Mishra 1987). There were other implications as well, particularly in the political and, apparently, in the class, caste, ethnic and gender, arena. Several cases of resistance against the state have been recorded, e.g. revolt led by Sripati Gurung in Lamjung and Gorkha and the apparently larger revolt led by Lakhan Thapa both of which took place in the 1870s, the longer-running movement of Yogmaya which ended in a mass suicide in 1942, and the furor caused by a book on social and economic reforms by Subba Krishna Lal Adhikari (see Karki and Seddon 2003: 3-5). In addition, relatively oblique satires, more forthright criticisms as well as agendas for political reform and change were making their way into the public domain. More importantly perhaps, there were transitions of a more directly "political" nature. The short-lived Prachanda Gorkha rebellion and the more genuinely political Praja Parishad movement constituted a social account and a political agenda which underlined the contradictions between the "old and defunct" autocratic regime which had not gained popular legitimacy and a new, yet-to-become, "democratic" state of Nepal. Then, of course, there were the Nepali Congress Party and the Nepal Communist Party, together with a number of others, whose accounts and agendas had touched the lives and imaginations of a sizable number of independent peasants, skilled workers, urban dwellers, merchants and, not the least, a section of the disgruntled but politically potent aristocracy. In addition, the global and, in particular, the Indian anti-colonial struggle, the struggle of various emerging political parties and their political actions as well as the emerging discourses on the new, post-World War II, world order and modernization and development gradually delegitimized the authority of existing state, economic structures and values and norms and generated new and alternative imaginations, visions and practices. The implications of some of the social, cultural, political, ethnic and value-related transitions and the "local" implications of global processes between 1921 and 1951—including the material and normative changes brought about by the demobilized

Gurkhas forces—both at the "grassroots" and national levels are sketched in an engaging manner by Pande (1982).

The details of the emergence and practice of sociology as such immediately following the 1951 transition has been well sketched (see Thapa 1973 in particular). The interconnection between the emergence and practice of sociology on the one hand and the larger emerging, developmentalist, modernist, international financial and policy assistance driven, statist and liberal democratic national and international agenda, however, appears to have been given a short shrift in the search for details. What is clear enough is that in keeping with these agendas, and in keeping with the emerging concepts and categories in sociology—particularly those in the US, this early period of the practice of sociology in Nepal, like in many other parts of the "developing" world, found itself implicated and applied in a newly instituted "Village Development Program". The program aimed at training development extension agents in the areas of rural family and society and in community development. The training package changed and expanded considerably with the advent of the monarchy-led and undemocratic *Panchayat* political system and the expansion of the state apparatus. The Panchayat Training Centre was charged with training the political cadre as well as the senior staff of the bureaucracy and conducted courses on rural society, group dynamics, communication, local leadership and social survey and planning, and sought to justify the notion that the *Panchayat* political system was inherently development-friendly (cf. Thapa 1973). In addition, a number of trained sociologists and anthropologists were enrolled by the state in developing the ideological framework of the political system and elaborating a national scale educational program. Anthropologists (apparently including at least one reputed international anthropologist) were also enrolled to conceptualize and administer a "remote" area development program within which the clergy (Buddhist in this case) would play a significant role. It was no mere coincidence that the program was framed and instituted along the northern reaches of the country (which lay contiguous to the Tibetan-Chinese border), at a time when the Cultural Revolution was on the ascendant in the People's Republic of China. Similarly, the resettlement program, under which landless and marginal landowners in the Hills, as well as ex-military personnel, were resettled in selected locations along the southern Tarai plains, also availed the services of several anthropologists. These "strategic alliances" during this period between the state on the one hand and sociologists and anthropologists on the other, however, must not be "over-read". The state was the largest employer of trained specialists and there were only a few trained Nepali sociologists and anthropologists. Nonetheless, it does appear that the early interface between the state on the one hand and sociologists and anthropologists on the other was mutually satisfying.

The nature of this early interface, the state's "imperative" to introduce "Nepal" to the wider, principally Western and aid-giving, world, the rapidly increasing demand for sociologists made by international funding agencies in Nepal—some of whose senior staff had been trained in the discipline itself, the globally expanding developmentalism and the demand for sociologists therein—primarily for ascertaining the "specificities" of the local, "rural" and "project site" structures and processes, crystallized together into an agenda for instituting a formal, academic and degree-granting program in the discipline. Ernest Gellner's 1970 report on the desirability and feasibility of a Department of Sociology in Tribhuvan University, which emphasized that "social research should be closely tied both to social development and to the exploration of the national culture", and Alexander Macdonald's enrolment as the first professor of sociology (for both events see Macdonald 1973) as well as Dor Bahadur Bista's appointment as the first professor of anthropology were responses to these agenda. While this venture had its share of problems (Dahal 1984: 39-40), it did serve to augment the legitimacy of the discipline in the eyes of the state, several international development agencies as well as the Tribhuvan University.

These processes and initiatives culminated in the formation of a Department of Sociology and Anthropology at Tribhuvan University in 1981. The department initiated a Master's level program and, in collaboration with the Sociology Subject Committee at the university, took steps to initiate Bachelor level programs in several campuses and colleges within/affiliated with the university. The initial course offerings, thematic emphases and the mode of expansion of the discipline have been described and critiqued by a number of participants (among others, Dahal 1984, Bhattachan 1987, 1996, Bhandari 1990, Gurung 1990, Gurung 1996, Bista 1987, 1996, 1997, Bhattachan and Fisher 1994; also refer to Table 1). The next section elaborates these descriptions and critiques.

Organizationally, the academic program on sociology and anthropology has expanded rapidly within the Tribhuvan University and is making slow headway in other universities. Currently, the Masters' program is conducted in seven campuses, i.e. in Kirtipur, Patan, Trichandra, Biratnagar, Pokhara and Baglung. (In the last two, this is the first year the program has started.) In addition, the Purbanchal University also conducts one Master's level program in the discipline. It should be emphasized that in part because most students enter the Masters' level only with 10 years of high school and four years of college, the academic level of the majority of the students, is internationally comparable to the Bachelors' level. Some of the students, on the other hand, compare well with graduate students at Western universities. The duration of schooling at the school level, however, is gradually shifting and the 12-year norm may be universalized in the next 5-10 years.

The Bachelors' level in the discipline is conducted in 17 campuses within the Tribhuvan University. In addition, the Purbanchal University conducts two Bachelors' level program. Further, courses on sociology and anthropology is also offered within various other disciplines, e.g. development studies, rural development, forestry, agriculture and animal sciences, medicine, environment, computer sciences. It is also offered in some higher secondary schools as an elective subject.

The discipline attracts a large number of students: In terms of popularity among Master's level students, it is likely that only Economics rates higher. Part of the reason for this popularity is the fact that, unlike several other disciplines, entry to sociology and anthropology remains partially open to students from other disciplines, including physical sciences and technology. The major root of the attraction, however, lies in the rather widely shared notion that graduates in the discipline enjoy an easier access to jobs in the development and "project" industry, e.g. international development and donor agencies, INGOs, NGOs, and some development agencies within the government.

On the average, and in recent years, the number of annual entrants to the Masters' level at all the participating campuses has exceeded 1,200. The rate of attrition, however is extremely high such that the number who enroll in the second year at the Master's level drops to about one-half the number. The proportion that graduates within a period of two years--the official duration of the course--remains very small, and possibly does not exceed 10 percent to 20 percent of those who sit in for the final examination. All in all, a rough estimate indicates that only about 1,500 students may have completed their Masters degree during last 20 years.

There is a high level of variation in the quality of teaching at the Masters' (and presumably Bachelors') level in the different campuses. In particular, the majority of the senior teachers are located in a single campus, i.e. the Kirtipur Campus. The Dean's Office, the University's academic committee on sociology and anthropology and the Central Department of Sociology--the three principal agencies charged with promoting the discipline at the Tribhuvan University--have accomplished precious little to bridge the wide gap in the quality of teaching across campuses in the University. Illustratively, during last five years, the Dean's Office has organized only one experience-sharing event among teachers scattered across various graduate and graduate departments. The academic committee, in turn, has not met during last four years. In addition, the committee, though charged for overseeing the overall academic performance within the discipline, has historically interpreted its mandate extremely narrowly and focused only on the preparation of the courses of study. The *central* department, qualified as such because of the academically supervisory role it is expected to carry out

in relation to other sister departments of sociology and anthropology within the university, has not pursued this mandate in a sustained manner.

The design of the syllabi at the Master's level remains uneven. Some of the courses are of a good-internationally competitive-quality while a few others leave much to be desired. While the syllabi must remain sensitive to the job prospects of graduates, there are indications that job prospects are weighing much more heavily on the syllabi and the basics of the discipline are beginning to receive a short shrift. Bureaucratic bottlenecks—the centralized examination system in particular, as well as lack of initiative and unprofessional resistance among teachers often block attempts at regular revision of the syllabi.

Access to literature, in relation both to students and teachers, remains extremely restricted. This, in part, is attributable to the facts that very few good texts have been prepared locally and international publications are generally highly expensive. Most of the departments do not have a library of their own. Even the central library of the Tribhuvan University, which is located in Kathmandu, is perennially starved of funds and a large proportion of the meager collection of journals is availed through often irregular and short-term donations. Principally because of financial reasons, it cannot procure new high quality books either. However, a couple of departments have initiated a system of generating funds from the student body and utilizing the funds to procure texts and reference materials. The low level of competence of the majority of the students, as well as many teachers, in the English language also inhibits their access high quality international publications in English.

The incentive structure of teachers at the universities, while broadly compatible with those of other public officials, generally fails to attract new high quality teachers, particularly those with Ph.D.s and those who have graduated from reputed universities outside Nepal. Given the incentive structure, many such graduates prefer to work for national and international non-governmental agencies and international development agencies rather than at the university. The criteria for the promotion of teachers through the academic hierarchy, while much more systematized within the last decade, nonetheless continue to prize seniority rather than research outputs and the quality of teaching. The centralized hiring and promotion mechanisms at the Tribhuvan University have often foregrounded non-academic criteria and opted for semi-closed rather than open evaluations and contests. Such mechanisms, in addition, have encouraged the inclusion of non-professionals in organs charged with hiring and promotion.

The most significant and long run problem which plagues teaching and learning at Tribhuvan University—and one which it shares with many other universities in the underdeveloped as well as some developed countries—is the pervading climate of uncritical and unreflexive "intellectual" work. The

severe lack of critical and reflexive "habits" has serious and long run negative consequences, among others, on the development of social sciences and sociology and anthropology. The texts, generally, are both taught and learned not as platforms for playful and creative thinking, as windows which facilitate a view of the wider world and as instruments which allow intimate dialogue with the self and society but as something which constitutes the last word on the subject and as one which must be passively received. Many students—and some teachers—read but not engage with books. To a certain extent, this is understandable as well. The fact that many of texts and references they are required to read often do not address key attributes or problems of the society they are living in does feed disengagement. In addition, many of the teachers fail to link—whether by way of illustration, comparison or critique--the book with the world students inhabit. Such books, in such a context, often acquire a fictive character. The apparently universal text, because it does not encompass the local—or gives it a short shrift—fails to acquire local authenticity and, as a result, does not excite the imagination of the students. An unperceptive and uncritical mentor who fails to read the implicit meaning of the apparently universal text for local life and society, in turn, does not make the task of engagement any easier.

Review of State of Sociology

For a discipline which has a relatively short history, the number of "state of sociology and social anthropology) in Nepal" reviews has been rather astounding. These writings, expectedly, vary widely with respect to quality of insight offered on these questions. While some of these writings are responses to periodic review events organized by the Tribhuvan University, many such writings do represent deep personal concerns with what sociology is doing and not doing, where it is headed and what it can and should do. These reviews also touch upon some of the key debates surrounding social sciences in general and sociology and anthropology in particular (in Nepal). I shall utilize this section both to summarize the reviews as also to explore some of the key epistemological and substantive debates in the sociology and anthropology of Nepal.

A couple of caveats are in order to put this review of reviews in context. First, because these reviews have been prepared at different periods of the evolution of sociology in Nepal, the arguments raised have to be read with reference to the period of publication of the assessment. Some of the assessments prioritize teaching, some focus on research and many others cover both the domains. Some, in addition, implicate the university, the government, and so forth. While many of the reviewers are Nepali nationals, some are international academics. Further, while at least one-half of the reviewers were at a relatively an early stage of their academic career at the time they prepared the review, the rest were in their mid-career or had had a

long and rather distinguished career behind them. Finally, some of the reviewers have assessed the discipline more than once and at different stages of their career. This paper, however, "collapses" such reviews and does not attempt to investigate possible changes in such assessment.

Table 1: Key Arguments in Reviews of the State of Sociology and Social Anthropology .

Author, Year	Key Arguments
Gellner 1970*	Romanticism (exploration) and midwifery (social development) complementary, particularly in Nepal where past is very much present
McDonald 1973	At this early stage, should focus on training of researchers, studies of change; utility of research important consideration; high significance of national academic contexts for <i>all</i> , including international, researchers; romantic midwifery possible; should shun building an intellectual enclave and should connect with the state as well as international organizations; multidisciplinary studies required.
Mishra 1980, 1984**	Should center on the linkage between concrete, everyday experiences and structural issues; emphasis on historical, contextual, dialectical and critical approach; recognizing and transcending the politics of sponsored research; going beyond the empirical and linking it with theoretical categories; dismantling barriers between social sciences; locating the micro within the macro context; connecting syllabi to local experiences.
Thapa 1973	Discipline should serve the needs of society and the state and help in the analysis of social change and social problems; should assess the impact of major national political initiatives on social organization.
Dahal 1984, 1993	Inquiry into theoretically-informed ethnography, national-building, migration, poverty important; micro-level studies vital; infrastructural problems hinder pedagogy; reservations on a single department of sociology and anthropology; the anthropology of the Himalayan region characterized by undue emphasis on the micro, neglect of interaction with outside, a search for the "natives", and of a romantic locale.
Gurung, G. 1997	While relative lack of theory-consciousness should concern us, we are in an early stage of disciplinary

	evolution, and some progress has been made in this direction; financial problems hurting the quality of teaching.
Bhattachan 1987, 1997	Disciplinary progress much too slow; no original theoretical contribution even after five decades; preoccupied with "filling in"; should focus on local experiences; synthesize the Western and the indigenous; equality and social justice should become key themes; students should have ample opportunity for field research; many more electives required; departmental autonomy and higher financial incentives to teachers required; regular review of department and teachers necessary; separate the department into two.
Rai 1973, 1984	International researchers should not be required to respond to national imperatives although they should be sensitive to them; "salvage anthropology" required; language barrier should and can be reduced; essence of anthropology must be honored by guarding against intrusion of other social sciences as well as "pseudo-anthropology".
Devkota 1984, 2001	Romanticism and "otherness", not action-orientedness, remain predominant and promote intellectual colonialism; coordination required between teaching departments and research centers; popular resistance to state and modernization, poverty and environmental deterioration should become key themes of investigation.
Bista, D. 1987, 1996***, 1997	Attending to literature in the Nepali language; emphasis on needs of the country, national identity, integrative processes and modernization rather than on nostalgia; bland ethnography not useful; dealing with real political, economic and social issues; short-staying international researchers cannot comprehend historical context; purposeful institutions key to disciplinary development; not all sponsored research sides with the "overdog"; important to link social/ideological features and development.
Bista, K. 1973	High significance of applied anthropology; "salvage anthropology" important but "costly"; accounts by transient international anthropologists sometimes divisive; efforts required to reduce barrier posed by the English language.
Berreman 1994	Should contribute to public policy formulation

	principally by comparative, holistic and contextual studies and by giving voice to the oppressed; approves Ivan Illich's call for "counter-research on alternatives to prepackaged solutions" as well C. Wright Mills' call on social science to "practice the politics of truth".
Fisher 1987	"Romanticism" and "development" often vacuous; "reverse romanticism", high and problematic; priority to large-scale and long-range perspective, and critical vision of the big picture, which the discipline can provide much more important than myopic and small scale field studies; priority to universal problems and timeless issues.
Bhattachan and Fisher 1994	Theorizing remains weak; physical, financial and organizational hurdles hindering disciplinary growth; sponsored research inhibiting the emergence of focal themes within the discipline.
Mikesell 1993	Elaborating concrete conditions which are shaping life in Nepal and which are very different from those in the West; critiquing "development", which embodies imperialism; giving voice to minorities.
Hachhethu 2002**	Lack of serious academic work by sociologists and anthropologists because of the lure of consultancy; financial incentives much higher in international agencies, INGOs, NGOs, and private research centers and colleges; both students and teachers in social sciences as a whole at Tribhuvan University (TU) regard their work in the institution as less than a full time "job"; erosion of personal honesty and integrity among both teachers and students; TU mismanaged and under-funded.
Gurung, O. 1990	Inadequate physical infrastructure and educational materials constrain both teaching and research; discipline can serve the policy maker and the people as a social and cultural interpreter; this, in turn, requires political, economic and historical familiarity; need to develop local theory and methods.
Bhandari 1990	Unattractive academic and financial incentives for teachers; texts not available in Nepali language; Nepali language should become the medium of instruction in classrooms; expansion of career opportunities for students needs emphasis; emphasize policy component in teaching and research.
Cameron 1994****	Shifting international fashions in development theory

	have rendered the image of Nepal fuzzy and shifting; this journey has been one of sound and fury as well as one in which the outsiders have been predominant; interdisciplinary efforts should be emphasized; priority to the inquiry of the global dimension which shows how the interests of external agencies condition the options available for internal choice; priority also to issues of power and accountability.
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*In Macdonald, 1973

**Reviews social sciences in general

***In James Fisher 1996

***Reviews the theory and practice of development in Nepal, not on sociology as such.

A number of running themes emerge in these reviews of the state of sociology in Nepal. The theme of romanticism (which is often defined as a preoccupation with the past and the present) *versus* midwifery (often defined as a preoccupation with the future) is clearly implicated in these reviews. It has been alleged, mostly although not exclusively, by Nepali academics, that romanticism is strongly implicated in the very choice of Nepal—and some specific regions and locations within it, selection of themes as well as modes of thinking and writing of mostly—although not exclusively—by international academics. It has been argued by many that this romanticism detracts from the contribution that the discipline could make to the "dispassionate" understanding, as also to public policy formulation and implementation and "development". The scent of applied science and immediately socially useful work is strong here, as is the sense of actively and directly intervening, doing and participating. Contemplation, analysis, and remaining-at-a-distance from the "center of activity", i.e. activities which are elaborated through the power of the state, international agencies, international non-governmental organizations and, generically, by "development", is relatively devalued here. (It must be said, on the other hand, that voluntary engagement by Nepali academics also remains high within the domain of the rather politically unglamorous and financially non-paying civil society initiatives.) This contrast between the Nepali and international academics, however, must not be overdrawn. Many from both the categories have drawn attention to the significance of the large scale and long run perspective and which is theoretically and historically informed. Fisher (1987), in addition has reminded us that "reverse romanticism", arising out of the faith bestowed on the state, the international financial institutions, and on the agenda of modernization, can become counterproductive as well.

As Fisher notes, it is difficult to define romanticism (within the context of sociological inquiry); the allegation of romanticism as applied to particular

inquiry is often vacuous. Romanticism is certainly not a matter of the physical or cultural location of the "field", of the subject matter or theme of inquiry, or of a particular technique of generating data and information. It may perhaps be defined as a feature of an entire mode of inquiry which contributes to mystification rather than to clarification. Romanticism and mystification is inherent in modes of inquiry which are non-problematizing, ahistorical, non-comparative. Such attributes are also inherent in modes of inquiry which do not explore the encompassing context within which the concrete is located and which do not seek to resolve the interface between the whole and the part as well as the reconfiguration of the interface. (Within the academia, the invocation of "disciplinary boundaries" often serves to hide the connectedness and wholeness of social life, particularly in relation to the larger political and economic conditions and processes.) Romanticism and mystification is also inherent in modes of inquiry which do not allow full expression to the "local" and which hasten to slot the "local" into a predetermined substantive and theoretical-conceptual frame.

The nationalist agenda is very strong in the writings of many of the Nepali academics. While this is evident from the preceding paragraph, the wide and frequent invocation of the nationalist--and sometimes ethnic, regional, etc. "we", as also of the notion of "Nepal School of Anthropology", is a telling expression of this sentiment. The call for indigeneity within the discipline and the emphasis on the investigation of processes of national identity and integration also bear this out. On the other hand, John Cameron's (1994) warnings against the ill consequences of changing international academic fads on the image of Nepal and the practice of development there does underpin the problematic nature of the external and "universalistic" gaze. (This criticism would, of course, apply to many other countries beside Nepal.)

The 1950-1980 period was one of nationalist renaissance in Nepal (also see Onta 1996). In particular, this was the period when Nepal was partially unshackled, in a number of domains--not the least within the domain of education and school curricula, from India. Beginning the early '70s, the new uniform school curriculum was introduced in the much-expanded "national" school system. This was also a period in which the non-South Asian and non-Chinese world started to intrude and impact directly on the lives of the majority of Nepalis. (This does not, however, imply that Nepal was "closed" prior to this period, unlike what many historians and politicians have asserted and as conventional wisdom incessantly repeats; cf. Mishra 1987.) The present generation of sociologists was nurtured during this period. The nationalist agenda within sociology and anthropology, however, should not be equated with the search for indigeneity within the discipline. This search, in part, goes beyond the notion of nationalism and constitutes a resistance against the universalistic claims of (primarily Western) social science and

sociology and anthropology. It also constitutes a call for providing due and full respect to the "local", for not privileging the Western experiences and frames of thought and for an authentic interfacing between the particular and the general. It is an assertion that the "local" academics are coming of age and can begin to negotiate, in company with many other academics in the non-Western world, the reshaping of the discipline. It is a voice of protest against the political and economic hierarchization within the world system. Similar voices have been heard for nearly five decades from academics in the underdeveloped countries. More recent voices along this line have been summarized in Moore (1996; in particular see the introductory essay by Moore and by Norman Long on globalization and localization).

In consonance with the emphasis on nationalism, modernism and developmentalism, and the resistance against romanticism, ethnography as the dominant mode of doing sociology and social anthropology is strongly questioned both by Nepali and international sociologists. This mode of practice has been strongly questioned on the grounds of authenticity (cf. Furer-Haimendorf vs. Ortner in Ortner (1973), Manzardo's (1992) *mea culpa* on "impression management" among the Thakalis, Kawakita Jiro's (1974) retraction of his initial characterization of Marphali women). It has also been questioned on the grounds of adequacy of explanation, e.g. Ortner's (1989) criticism of spatially and temporally shackled ethnography and Dahal's (1983) criticism of Lionel Caplan in relation to Hindu dominance over ethnic groups (Caplan 1970). It need not be overemphasized that the dominant mode of doing ethnography was, and to a certain extent remains, "shackled". One reason for such shackling was methodological: Participant observation, in practice, generally did not allow for historical and/or an explicitly cross-cultural vision. If historical vision remained consistently de-emphasized in ethnography, cross-cultural perspective was generally defined as falling within the domain of the Ph.D. supervisors and other high-ranking "theorists" rather than "field" and Ph.D.-seeking anthropologists. Such perspectives were often regarded as negating the definition of a culturally and/or physically defined "field", regardless of the fact the negation mortally violated holism, the time-honored principle of anthropological investigation. The dominant mode of doing ethnography not only encouraged discrete studies, but also legitimized the invalid notion that societies and cultures investigated were unconnected with wider expanses of time, space, cultures and politics and economies. For this artificial "whole" to stand on its own, it had to be set apart, often invidiously, from encompassing as well as neighboring structures as well as internal processual features largely by means of "professional" fiat—rather than by means of historical criteria. Thus the charge that ethnographers have been encouraging divisiveness, a charge which has been made not only by the state, the nationalists and the culturally dominant but also by trained sociologists and anthropologists. Thus also the emphasis in

the preceding reviews that "integrative" structures, conditions and processes ought to become key themes of anthropological inquiry.

On the other hand, the nationalist and culturally dominant strain, as noted, remains strong among Nepali sociologists and anthropologists. One implication of this character is obvious from the preceding review. Few of the Nepali academics have acknowledged that resistance, conflict, struggle and emancipation—all somewhat "divisive" themes—ought to become a key site of sociological inquiry. Indeed, the emphasis on the developmentalist, nationalist, statist, and modernist agenda has been quite strong. The preceding review, in consequence, generally fails to acknowledge that even social criticism has a legitimate place within the discipline. While many international academics have, somewhat understandably, shied away from these themes—except as applied to the "local context", some others have insightfully explored such themes (e.g. Caplan 1972, Gaige 1975, Blaikie, Cameron and Seddon 1980, Mikesell 1999). While some Nepali academics have also highlighted such themes (e.g. Mishra 1987, Bista 1992), most analyses have either sought to downplay conflict and resistance or to 'find ways to "manage" it, the resource management inquiries. There has been a conspicuous paucity of studies of resistance, conflict, struggle etc. in as much as few sociologists and anthropologists have provided substantive accounts of either the 1990 transition or the Maoist insurgency (see Bhattachan 1993, Karki and Seddon 2003, however). This must be regarded as a serious failure. The armed context of the "Maoist struggle" has certainly inhibited "field"-based studies—the staple of many within the discipline. The government security forces have tended to view the access to, storing and utilization of Maoist literature as an act of offense against the state. (Access to "Maoist" party literature remains difficult in any case.) Academics as well as others, to a large extent justifiably, have remained fearful on account of the "Marxist" and "Maoist" books on their shelves. Further, there is a pervading sense of insecurity among academics, journalists and many others that specific conclusions they reach and publish may invite reprisal from the government security forces or the Maoists. The ensuing sense of insecurity is a powerful inhibitor of academic engagement with the ongoing "Maoist" struggle. Nonetheless, these inhibitors cannot provide a full explanation why the discipline has been less than responsible in "covering" this struggle. Part of this failure must be laid at the door of the old disciplinary emphases on ethnography, isolated ritual performances, "integrative" features, modernity, and the newer disciplinary as well as local emphases on development, resource management, "project" feasibility and evaluation, etc. At least for the Nepali academics, this shortcoming must also be interpreted both as a glaring professional and personal failure.

Allied to this is the paucity of inquiries on large-scale and long-range issues (cf. Fisher 1987) and the micro-macro interface. Despite the legitimate

criticism of discrete micro studies by many in the preceding review, few of the articles in the *Contributions to Nepalese Studies* (henceforth *Contributions*), the premier journal in Nepal for sociological/anthropological writings—and one which has been in operation for three decades, explore such themes. The political-economic perspective, which arguably lends itself much more readily to such themes, has remained relatively neglected. This neglect, among others, and once again, is tied to the academics and politics of the "field" and of the anthropological holism, the agenda of spatially and sectorally delimited "development", the nature of sponsored research, and the nature of the "project" within which many micro studies are carried out. We shall return to the wider implications of sponsored research later.

One area, in which resistance, conflict and struggle have been rather widely studied, particularly in the recent years, is the area of ethnicity. While ethnicity was often implicated—to varying extents—in most ethnographic studies, the politics of ethnicity, ethnic conflict and the interface between ethnicity and nationalism has recently become a substantively salient area of inquiry. The 1990 restoration of democracy has furnished a potent site for organized political action on an ethnic basis, for inquiries into ethnic identity, discrimination and exclusion. The implications of emerging notions of ethnicity and ethnic political action on the nature of the Nepali state, Nepali nationalism and on social justice and democracy have been widely discussed as well.

This "ethnic debate" has taken two principal forms. The first visualizes ethnicity as historically and socially constructed and contingent. Ethnicity, in this view, is constructed—and sharpened and blunted—within the context of specific political, economic and cultural structures and processes. The second, essentialist, vision, in turn, posits that ethnicity is a primordial attribute of a group of people—an attribute (or a set of attributes) which always was and, by extension, always will be, in existence.

The non-essentialist position has led to a rich debate on ethnicity, ethnic conflict and nationalism. While Ortner (1989), Holmberg (1989) and a few others laid the ground, the 1997 volume edited by Gellner, Pfaff-Czarnecka and Whelpton elaborates this position in great detail and with respect to the state and its evolution, various caste and ethnic groups and the emerging cultures and their career. The voices represented in the volume are diverse but amply demonstrate that ethnicity is historically constructed through specific political, economic and cultural structures and processes (see, in particular, the contribution by Pfaff-Czarnecka). The contributors to the volume also argue that because ethnicity is not an ahistorical construct, it is necessary to problematize and interrogate it.

As Gellner emphasizes in his introduction to the volume, the "true" essentialist position has few adherents any more. It smacks of the days of "headhunters", barbarians, races, and tribes. (For an overview and critique of

the notion of tribes, see Dahal 1981, Caplan, 1990.) The legitimacy of the essentialist position have also been eroded by expanding intercultural interaction, movements of population and labor, the modernist, developmentalist and liberal democratic nature of many states, and the galloping commodity and labor exchange regime under capitalism and imperialism which is sometimes subsumed under the notion of globalization. Further, the essentialist position often defeats itself in as much many of those who take such a position in relation to the past and the present, nonetheless, argue that future ethnic political consciousness and practice (i.e. ethnicity) will undergo a transition to the extent that certain specific contradictions find a resolution.

Regardless, "less pure" and softer versions of the essentialist position remain in vogue among ethnic political activists and politically committed academics (e.g. National Ad hoc Committee for International Decade for the World's Indigenous Peoples, Nepal, 1994, Bhattachan 1995). These visions freeze history, create unidimensional "ethnics", eschew diversity and invidious political interests within and between ethnic groups, force a disconnect with encompassing political and economic issues and, in addition, seek to delink such issues from the question of ethnic identity. These visions, nonetheless, point out accumulating contradictions in a politically powerful manner and underscore the continuing significance of participatory and equity-based cultural negotiations.

Even as ethnography and ethnic studies has been in "full bloom" for several decades, the extreme lack of attention on the Dalits by sociologists remains both curious and sad (see Caplan 1972, however). This inattention must be regarded as a serious flaw within the sociology of Nepal. Indeed, the omnipresent and powerful caste system as a whole has received far less attention than ethnicity and several other themes. The Gellner, Pfaff-Czarnecka and Whelpton volume is no exception, except for a relatively peripheral treatment of the caste system among the Newars by Gellner. The politically and culturally "excluded" have also been excluded within the intellectual discourse by Nepali academics. As far as international academics are concerned, could it be that those interested in the caste system and the Dalits find neighboring India more interesting instead?

The "reverse romanticism" with developmentalism and modernity—and with state and international development and donor agencies as well as INGOs and NGOs who remain at the forefront of these agendas—within sociology and anthropology in Nepal, as noted by Fisher, remains pronounced. The preoccupation with feasibility and impact studies, resource (e.g. forest, irrigation, drinking water) management, etc. remains notably intense. The participation of sociologists and anthropologists, both national and international, in such studies remains high. Such participation generally takes place within the frame of a project and, by its very nature, is generally

limited to "field" level information generation, analysis of data and preparation of report. The reports generally do not contextualize the project and the "field" within a larger historical, spatial and theoretical-conceptual frame. Most such reports do not become public and thus fail to be publicly and intellectually scrutinized, and thus, do not contribute to public, intellectual and disciplinary debate. "Project" literature, not the least because they are zealously guarded from public scrutiny, very often does not even contribute to the larger, across-the-sector, across development agency and across levels of government agenda and practice of development, not to speak of the national and international, development debate.

One key, although not the only, reason for the relatively high level of participation of sociologists in such "sponsored" research is the high level of distortion in the structure of "wage" incentive. The incentives provided for work in "sponsored" research are several times those at the university. (It is also the case, on the other hand, that there is a sharp and just about impenetrable barrier in incentives for the "national" and the "international" researchers.) In addition, many international development agencies contract work out to individuals rather than institutions. Many research institutions, the academic institutions in particular, on the other hand, are organizationally, although not academically, unequipped to organize research programs and to collaborate with the government and international development agencies to that end.

The engagement with "sponsored" research, however, has not all been negative for the evolution of the discipline and its carriers within academic setting. It has contributed to the interfacing of the disciplinary texts—which, to a substantial extent, are repositories of specific Western experiences—with local structures and lives. In the process, it has facilitated the development of a critical edge. It has made available a platform for the generation of comparative information and insight. This platform can serve as a creativity-promoting site, particularly within a setting within which the authority of the text has tended to remain unquestioned and sacrosanct. In addition, to the extent that the line between "applied" and "basic" research is permeable, sponsored applied research can provide valuable input to more basic disciplinary research.

Emphases in Sociology in Nepal

The evolution of the discipline in Nepal can also be characterized and assessed through a review of the outlets for sociological and anthropological writings.² Such writings, however, remain scattered in several academic and semi-academic journals, magazines and newspapers. The significance of "semi-academic" writings by sociologists and anthropologists, while lying along the borders of the discipline, should not be under-rated in relation not only to public education but also in relation to the training it can provide to

aspiring and "novice" sociologists. These outlets, in addition, provide valuable space to those who wish to write in the Nepali or other vernacular languages. In addition, and despite Rai's (1984) warning against "pseudo-anthropologists", such writings cannot be considered to be the exclusive privilege of the trained academics. As noted earlier, several non-sociologists and non-anthropologists have made valuable contributions to the discipline.

At present, several journals cater to the writings of sociologists and anthropologists. The *Contributions to Nepalese Studies* (1973-) published by the Centre for Nepal and Asian Studies, of course, has remained the principal outlet for last three decades. The *Occasional Papers in Sociology and Anthropology*, published by the Department of Sociology, Tribhuvan University, Kirtipur Campus, since 1987 is an additional outlet. By 2001, seven volumes of the journal had come into print. *Studies in Nepali History and Society*, published by the Martin Chautari since 1996, *Kailash*, the publication of which has recently become irregular, and the Journal of Nepal Research Centre are other significant outlets. In addition, there are several other academic and semi-academic journals and magazines, many of which are published in the Nepali language. *Pragya*, *Mulyankan*, *Himal*, *Himal-South Asia*, *Asmita*, *Rolamba*, etc. fall into this category. In addition, during the last decade, several semi-academic and news magazine publications have focused on issues related to gender, ethnicity and ethnic groups, Dalithood and Dalits as well as specific regions of the country. Such publications have started the polyvocal genre within social thinking and writing and are beginning to make their presence felt within public policy institutions. Further, several weeklies and dailies occasionally publish articles by sociologists and anthropologists.

This review will focus on the *Contributions* and provide quantitative information on the some aspects of the nature and "productivity" of Nepali and international sociologists and anthropologists, describe the theme of the articles and assess decadal trends with respect to productivity and themes. In addition, the articles will also be categorized in terms of the level of their "theory consciousness". Further, the themes covered in the *Occasional Papers* will also be described. It must be emphasized that this description and assessment is of a preliminary and quantitative nature.

Table 2: Themes Covered by Articles in *Contributions*

Theme/Period/Number of articles	1973-1980	1981-1990	1991-2001	Total
Ethnography, ethnicity, nationalism, identity	17	13	7	37
Resource management, population, ecosystem	5	4	2	11

State, economy, market, livelihood	4	11	2	17
Politics, resistance, conflict, struggle, inequality	2	0	3	5
Gender, caste, kinship	3	7	2	12
Ideology, knowledge, sociology, anthropology	2	1	1	4
Health, education, environment, development	1	8	4	13
Social and cultural change	3	2	1	6
Religion, rituals, shamanism	11	0	6	17

Ethnography, livelihood, rituals and shamanism and faith healing are the most favored genre within the *Contributions*. Many of the ethnographic articles are also based on very short-term and one-shot visits to particular "field sites" and, partly as a consequence, provide a simple descriptive account of a specific aspect of an ethnic group's cultural life, e.g. isolated ritual performances, shamanism, transhumance, dimensions of livelihood, demographic attributes. Often, the articles implicitly evoke a sense of material poverty, physical and social isolation and rather stark boundedness among the ethnic group described. The descriptive focus, generally, is on relatively "unusual" "ethnic attributes" and the descriptive mood is often somber. In turn, there is little history, little "wholeness", little explicit cross-cultural comparison and little emphasis on locating the subjects within larger i.e. regional, national, international, or more encompassing political, economic and cultural, patterns and processes. These features indicate that there is more than a whiff of anthropological romanticism here, even as such ethnographic efforts have opened up our eyes to the diverse nature of social structure and culture, provided a base for deeper and wider investigations and furnished perspectives and information which are potentially useful for preliminary ethnographic mapping.

On the other hand, sociological and anthropological writings, as reflected through the *Contributions*, have seriously de-emphasized themes related to politics, ideology, resistance, inequality, contradiction and change—all issues which have been starkly highlighted and acquired a particular urgency during the current era of "Maoist" conflict". Romanticism, "salvage anthropology", functionalism, developmentalism, scientificity and "political neutrality", and boundedness and the failure to look at the larger picture have inflicted a potent dis-serve to the sociological/anthropological enterprise. Of course, as noted in Sections III and IV, not all sociological/anthropological writings can be faulted on these accounts. It does, however, highlight the significance of sociological and anthropological studies which focus on the larger picture and which seek to interconnect different sections of the larger picture, which

are historically informed, which do not fetishize "culture" but locate it alongside and within a specific and changing political-economic structure and which give sufficient space to political processes and to the genesis and consequences of social contradiction.

Table 3: Level of "Theoretical Consciousness" in Articles in *Contributions*.

Period	# Articles by Sociologists/Anthropologists	# Articles which Implicate Theoretical Framework in a Substantive Manner	# Articles which Implicate Theoretical Framework in a Marginal Manner	# Articles which Remain at the Level of "Lay Description"
1973-1980	48	15	21	12
1981-1990	47	14	24	9
1991-2001	33	9	20	4
Total	128	38	65	25

Approximately 30 percent of the articles published in the *Contributions* substantively locate themselves within and/or seek to interrogate relatively established conceptual-theoretical frameworks. That these articles substantively impinge on relatively established conceptual-theoretical frames, of course, implies that they "converse" with and contribute to the interpretation, buttressing or refutation of relatively established schools of thought--and/or to the development of a more or less novel frame--and that their scope and significance is much broader than their immediate empirical engagement. Approximately one-half of the articles, on the other hand, even as they do locate themselves within a relatively established conceptual-theoretical framework, do so in a peripheral manner. Such articles do not bring themselves to bear on such frameworks. Approximately one-fifth of the articles remain at the level of lay description. The academic significance of the latter two categories of articles, the last category in particular, necessarily remains low.

In addition, trends indicate that the proportion of articles which substantively implicate specific conceptual-theoretical frameworks while setting up and/or "solving" a research problem has remained nearly constant through three decades of publication of the *Contributions*. On the other hand, there has been a discernible rise in the proportion of articles which peripherally invoke a conceptual-theoretical framework. Whether this represents a step toward a more intense and explicit recognition of the conceptual-theoretical and comparative analysis in future remains to be seen.

Table 4: "Productivity" of Sociologists and Anthropologists in *Contributions*

Period	# Issues Published	# Total Articles Published	# Articles by Sociologists/ Anthropologists	# Articles by Nepali Authors	# Articles by International Authors
1973-1980	14	96	48	7	41
1981-1990	22	133	47	15	32
1991-2001	23	180	32	11	21
Total	59	409	127	33	94

This "decadal" comparison of the *Contributions* shows several notable features. First, sociologists and anthropologists contributed one-half of all articles published during the 70s (columns 3 and 4). During the 80s, the number of articles authored by sociologists and anthropologists declined substantially in terms of proportion. Further, during the 90s, authorship by sociologists and anthropologists declined both in terms of number as well as proportion. Sociologist and anthropologists, during the "90s", contributed only about one-fifth of all articles published. This quantitative reduction, however, also has to be viewed against the "expanding inclusiveness" of editorial policy as well as the overall growth of social science academic writing in Nepal. The initial domain of *Contributions* lay along the disciplines of history, linguistics and anthropology and sociology. The growth of academia and research outputs in other fields of social science, e.g. economics, development, political science, human geography, etc. obliged the editors of *Contributions* to cater to articles in these fields as well. On the other hand, while the consequent "expanding inclusiveness" of the *Contributions* does, in part, explain the proportional reduction in the number of articles authored by sociologists and anthropologists, it fails to explain the reduction in terms of absolute number evidenced during the '90s. This reduction is much more troubling than it appears to be in as much as the number of sociologists and anthropologists, including those employed at the Tribhuvan—and to a much smaller extent, other—University (ies) grew rapidly during this very period. In addition, Tribhuvan University, which remains the principal institutional locus of academic sociology and anthropology, had increased the premium on the publication of articles as a basis for promotion within the academic hierarchy. While it is not possible here to exhaustively scan the reasons underlying the reduction in the number of articles published by sociologists and anthropologists in the *Contributions*, the opening of other avenues of publication (noted above) and engagement in the fast-growing in sponsored "project" research may have been two such the principal reasons.

Second, during all the three periods, Nepali sociologists and anthropologists published fewer articles in the *Contributions* compared to international sociologists and anthropologists. Some "progress", however, has been discernible on this front: While Nepali authors contributed only one-

seventh of all articles—seven in all—published in the journal during the '70s, the proportion rose to one-third during the latter two decades. Once again, the "expansion" of the disciplines of sociology and anthropology in Nepal during the 80s and particularly the '90s is hardly substantiated by the record of publication in the *Contributions*. The record, on the other hand, does show that the "presence" of international authors remains strong within sociology and anthropology in Nepal.

Table 5: Themes covered by Articles in *Occasional Papers* (1987-2001)

Theme	Number of Articles
Ethnography, ethnicity, nationalism, identity	5
Resource management, population, ecosystem	9
State, economy, market, livelihood	6
Politics, resistance, conflict, struggle, inequality	1
Gender, caste, kinship	5
Ideology, knowledge, sociology, anthropology	7
Health, education, environment, development	14
Social and cultural change	1
Religion, rituals, shamanism	2
Other	4
Total	54

As noted, one of the possible reasons for the low presence of Nepali authors in the *Contributions* is the opening of alternate avenues of publication in sociology and anthropology. The Occasional Papers in Sociology and Anthropology (*Occasional Papers*) is one such avenue. First published by the Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Tribhuvan University, Kirtipur Campus, in 1987, seven volumes had been published by 2001. Members of the faculty in the Kirtipur Campus have authored most of the articles in the journal.

The focus of the *Occasional Papers* is much more explicitly "developmental" compared to the *Contributions*. A large proportion of the articles on education, environment, resource management, population, ecosystem, livelihood, etc. in the journal falls within the "development" genre. On the other hand, and like *Contributions*, there are few writings here on politics, ideology, resistance, struggle, inequality, etc. Unlike *Contributions*, on the other hand, it has fewer writings on ethnography, rituals, caste, kinship, gender, shamanism, etc., the traditional core of sociology and anthropology. During the early years, somewhat expectedly, and as evidenced by the information provided in Table 1, the journal was also preoccupied with "appropriate sociology and anthropology" and the

preparation of a programmatic agenda for pushing the discipline towards greater "appropriateness".

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Notes

1. Whether sociology is a distinct, relatively recent and modern European product, or whether the discipline—or a recognizable precursor of it, can be traced to other specific spatial and historical setting(s) has, surprisingly, remained a nearly unexplored issue within sociology. To the extent that historical and social thinking and writing is rooted in social struggle and transformation, one could certainly have expected the sociological genre to have marked its presence during the formation and dismemberment of the Greco-Roman empires and civilizations, the opening of the Euro-American and Eurasian trade routes, the decimation of the American Indian peoples and cultures and the rapid ascendance of the European civilization in the Americas during the 16th-20th centuries, the slave trade in and across Africa, the formation of North African and Arabic urban regions, the ups and downs of the Sinic and Japanese civilizations, the initial institutionalization of the extremely oppressive and deeply divisive caste system in India, as well as the ferments created during the rise of all great religions and various large-scale and long-winded religious, sectarian, ethnic and national wars and their aftermath. The overall economic, political and cultural significance of these struggles and transitions may very well have been *relatively* narrower, shallower, and slower and, therefore, more contained than those produced by capitalism and imperialism. Nonetheless, sociology has remained poorer because of the virtual absence of explorations which seek to link these salient struggles, transitions and structures and processes on the one hand and modes of social imagination and investigation on the other.
2. I am grateful to Suresh Dhakal for helping me with information provided in the tables in this section.

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RESEARCH NOTE

CASE MARKERS IN THE CHHATHARE LIMBU

Govinda B. Tumbahang

Introduction

Limbu has four major dialects – Panthare, Phedappe, Taplejung and Chhathare. Among them, the Chhathare dialect is quite distinct from other dialects because its speakers can easily understand other dialects but the speakers of other dialects can hardly understand it. It is spoken in the Chhathar area which covers parts of the Dhankuta district that includes villages such as Jitpur, Marek Katahare, Hatikharka, Murtidhungga, Dhankuta municipality, Bhirgaun, Tangkhuwa, Teliya, Parewadin etc, and the Terhathum district which includes villages such as Pancha Kanya, Hamurjang, Okhre, Dangapa and so on. It belongs to the Kiranti group of the Tibeto-Burman family of languages. Both native and non-native speakers have ignored this dialect because it has no status as a lingua franca within the Limbu community, nor is it used in religious ceremonies or socio-cultural exchanges. So far, some works viz. Widert and Subba (1985), van Driem (1987) and Michailovsky (2001) have done on the Panchthare, Phedappe and Taplejung dialects respectively but until now, no work has been done on the Chhathare dialect. This article is an attempt to explore the case markers of the Chhathare dialect of Limbu.

Case

Case is a grammatical category used in the analysis of word classes or phrases to identify the syntactic relationship between words. In the Chhathare dialect, it is indicated by variations in the morphological forms of the word. Nouns and parts of speech used as nominals can be inflected for case. Chhathare Limbu includes the following cases:

Absolutive: Absolutive is a term used in grammatical description of languages, which has an ergative system. This system has a formal parallel between the object of a transitive verb and the subject of an intransitive one, and these are referred to as 'absolutive'. For example,

- (1) a. napmi -ngaa pu ser-u
man-Erg bird kill-3.Sg. A3SgP Pret
"A man killed a bird."

- b. yangbaa-ngaa suba teps-u
cat-Erg rat catch-3.Sg.A.3Sg P Pret
"A cat caught a rat."
- c. kaap-phaang-ngaa naapmi laps-u
your uncle -Erg man beat- 3. Sg.A.3.Sg P Pret
"Your uncle beat a man."

In sentences given above in (1a,b,c) *seru*, *teps-u* and *laps-u* are all transitive verbs and *pu*, *suba* and *naapmi* are objects which are unmarked. These unmarked objects can occur in the subject position without any change.

For example,

- (2) a. pu pe
bird- fly-3Sg.A. non-Pret
"A bird flies."
- b. suba lokk-a
rat run-3.Sg.A- Pret
"A rat ran."
- c. napmi pher-aa
man- come-3Sg.A- Pret
"A man came."

The sentences in (2a,b,c) contain *pe*, *lokk-a* and *pher-aa* which are intransitive verbs and *pu*, *suba* and *napmi* are their subjects. They are unmarked. Between the object of the transitive verb and the subject of the intransitive verb, there is a formal parallel that is marked by <-ing> when definite but unmarked when it is indefinite. For example,

- (3) a. a-ppaa taa
my-father come-3.Sg.A. non-Pret
"My father comes."
- b. pu pey-aa
bird fly-3.Sg.A-Pret
"A bird flew."
- c. henjaa kay-aa
child fall-3.Sg.A- Pret
"A child fell."

d. a-ppaa-ing taa
my-father-Def come-3.Sg.A. non-Pret
"My father comes."

e. pu-ing pey-aa
bird-Def fly-3.Sg.A -Pret
"The bird flew."

f. henjaa-ing kay-aa
child-Def fall-3.Sg.P- Pret
"The child fell."

The above sentences in (3a,b,c) contain the unmarked *a-ppa*, *pu* and *henjaa* as subjects to the transitive verbs *taa*, *pey-aa* and *kay-aa* respectively. They are indefinite subjects but the sentences in (3d,e,f) have definite subjects marked by the suffix <-ing>. Similarly, the objects of the following transitive verbs are unmarked when indefinite:

(4) a. koko-ngaa mendaak haar-u
dog-ERG goat bite-3.Sg.A-3.Sg.P. Pret
"A dog bit a goat."

b. kaat-tuba-ngaa phaak cepp-u
your-grandfather-Erg pig cut-3Sg.A-3.Sg.P.Pret
"Your grandfather cut a pig."

c. pit-naa naapmi thoks-u
cow-Erg man horn-3.Sg.A-3Sg.P. Pret
"A cow horned a man."

d. koko-ngaa mendak-ing har-u
dog-Erg goat-Def kill-3.Sg.A-3.Sg.P. Pret
"A dog bit the goat."

e. kaat-tuba-ngaa phaak-ing cep-pu
your-grand father-Erg pig-Def cut-3.Sg.A-3.Sg.P.Pret
"Your grandfather cut the pig."

f. pit-naa napmi-ing thoks-u
cow-Erg man-Def horn-3.Sg.A-3.Sg.P. Pret
"A cow horned the man."

In the sentences (4a,b,c), *mendaak*, *phaak* and *naapmi* are unmarked objects to the verbs *haar-u*, *cepp-u* and *thoks-u* respectively, and they are indefinite. However, in the sentences (4d,e,f) they are definite objects marked by the suffix <-ing>.

The definite marker suffix <-ing> undergoes some morphophonological changes. After the voiceless stops /p/, /t/ /k/ and /ʔ/ the case ending is realized as /-ming/, e.g. *baa cep-ming cuk-paa cuk* "This basket is small.", as /-ning/ e.g. *baa sawet-ning yam-baa cuk* "This buffalo is big", as /-nging/ e.g. *phaak-nging pheraa* "The pig came" etc. These variations are only in deference to homorganic assimilation of the stem-final consonant with the definite marker on the basis of the place of articulation in the fast speech made without any pause to the syllable break. The normal speech with a natural syllable break contains the clear definite marker <-ing> as in *baa cep-ing cuk-paa cuk* "This basket is small." After the vowels except /i/ basic form of the ending doesn't change, e.g. *waa-ing phe-raa* "The chicken came," *myangbaa-ing pind-aa* "The cat jumped", *koco-ing yaat-aa* "The dog whined" etc. However, after /i/, the definite marker suffix <-ing> is realized as /-ng/ lengthening the preceding vowel, e.g. *naapmi:ng pheraa* "The man came."

Ergative: The ergative case marks the agent of a transitive verb. The ergative suffix is <-ngaa>.

- (5) a. *am-ma-ngaa yaang thag-u*
my-mother-Erg money earn-3.Sg.A-3.Sg.P. Pret
"My mother earned money."
- b. *phaak-ngaa caa ca*
pig-Erg food eat-3.Sg.A.Pret
"A pig ate food."
- c. *an-na cwaat thung-u*
horse-Erg water drink-3.Sg.A-3.Sg.P. Pret
"A horse drank water."

The sentences in (5a,b,c) contain transitive verbs *thag-u*, *ca* and *thung-u* respectively with the corresponding agents *am-maa*, *phaak* and *an*. The agents are marked by ergative suffix <-ngaa>. The ergative suffix is also divided into definite and indefinite. The indefinite ergative is unmarked as in (5a,b,c) but the definite ergative is marked by <-i>

- (6) a. *koco-ngaa-i naapmi haar-u*
dog- Erg-Def man bite-3.Sg.A-3.Sg. P.Pret
"The dog bit a man."

- b. kap-paa-ngaa-i baa sapla theks-u
your father-Erg-Def this book tear-3.Sg.A-3.Sg.P.Pret
"Your father tore this book."
- c. ku-phaang-ngaa-i baa laaje thoks-u
his uncle -Erg -Def this land plough-3.Sg.A-3.Sg.P.Pret
"His uncle ploughed this land."
- d. koko-i-ngaa naapmi haar-u
dog-Def-Erg man bite-3.Sg.A-3.Sg.P.Pret
"A dog bit a man."
- e. kaap-paa-i-ngaa baa saplaa theks-u
your father -Def Erg this book tear-3.Sg.A-3.Sg.P.Pret
"Your father tore this book."
- f. kup-phaang-i-ngaa baa laaje thoks-u
his uncle-DEF ERG this land plough-3.Sg.A-3.Sg.P.Pret
"His uncle ploughed ~~this~~ man."

In the sentences (6a,b,c) the ergative suffix <-ngaa> is followed by the definite suffix <-i> and in rest of the sentences (6d,e,f) it is preceded by the definite marker<-i>.

Instrumental: The instrumental suffix <-ngaa > is a form taken by a noun phrase when it expresses a notion like 'by means of'. For example,

- (7) a. khune yang-ngaa aambe ing-u
he money-Inst mango buy-3.Sg.A-3.Sg.Thm-.Pret
"He bought a mango with money."
- b. aa khebak -ngaa laamdhet hand-u-ng
I key-Inst door open-3.Sg.P- 1.Sg.A.Pret
"I opened the door with a key."
- c. khene phejaa-ngaa ka-jepp-u
you dagger-Inst 2.Sg.A-cut-3.Sg.P
"You cut it with a dagger."

In the sentences given in (7a,b,c) instruments *yaang*, *khebak* and *phejaa* are marked by <-ngaa>. Though the instrument marker is identical to the ergative marker in form, the two are quite distinct in function.

The genitive: The genitive case expresses possessive relationship by means of inflections. Limbu genitive case is marked by the suffix <-ngaang>.

- (8) a. aa-ppa-ngaang ku-baang
my father-Gen his-house
"My father's house."
- b. naapmi-ngaang ku-saaplaa
man-Gen his-book
"Man's book".
- c. pu-ngaang ku-haap
bird-Gen his-nest
"Bird's nest."

The phrases in (8a,b,c) contain noun phrase like *aap-paa* or simply nouns such as *naapmi* and *pu*. They are marked by genitive suffix <-ngaang> which, in turn is followed by the third person possessive prefix <ku-> in the singular. However, in the case of the dual and plural nouns the third person singular possessive prefix <ku-> takes only one possessive form such as <khunchi->, which is called a non-singular possessive prefix.

- (9) a. pu-ghaachi-ngaang khunchi-haap
bird-dl -Gen-their-nest
"Birds' nest."
- b. pu-ghaa-ngaang khunchi-haap
bird-pl -Gen their-nest
"Birds' nest."

In the phrases in (9a,b), the dual number marker <-ghaachi> and the plural number marker <-ghaa> occur with the 3rd person non-singular possessive prefix <khuchi->

Vocative: Vocative is a case form taken by a noun when it is used in the form of address. This case is marked by <-o> or <-e> as in aa-ppaa-o or aa-ppaa-e but they are not interchangeable in all contexts.

- (10) a. aa-mmaa-e aa-mmaa-o
my-mother-Voc my-mother-Voc
"O my mother" "O my mother"

b. aat-tubaa-e aa-ttubaa-o
my-grandfather-Voc my-grandfather-Voc
"O my grandfather" "O my grandfather"

c. sebaa-e sebaa-o
friend-Voc friend-Voc
"O friend " "O friend"

d. naapmi-e # naapmi-o
man-VOC
"O man "

e. pu-e #pu-o
bird-VOC
"O bird "
(# indicates that the form is unacceptable.)

The examples cited in (10a,b, c) show that /-o/ can substitute /-e/ only in the context of low open back vowel /aa/ immediately preceding it but when high, close, front vowel /i/ or high close back vowel /u/ precedes the vocative case ending, /-o/ can't substitute it.

Locative: Locative refers to the form taken by a noun when it typically expresses the idea of location of an entity or an action. This case is marked by <-o>.

(11) a. kuc-chaa aa-baang-o waa
his-son my-house-Loc is
"His son is in my house."

b. saa aa-haa-o khipp-u
meat my-tooth-Loc stick-3.Sg. A-3.Sg.P. Pret
"The meat is stuck to my tooth."

c. tare-baa yuknaa-o yung
guest-male bed-Loc sit-3.Sg.A.non-Pret
"The guest sits on the bed."

d. khune kuk-ku-si-o teg-aa
he his-maternal uncles-Loc go-3.Sg.A Pret
"He went to his maternal uncle's house."

- e. khene kaap-paa-o kaa-de-i
 you your-father-Loc you-go-QUES
 "Do you go to your father's house?"

The locative suffix <-o> in (11a,b,c) indicates location of an entity whereas the locative suffix in (11d,e) indicates that of action.

The comitative: The comitative is a case form taken by a noun when it expresses the meaning "along with" or "accompanied by". It is marked by the suffix <-nung> "with", "along with" or "accompanied by".

- (12) a. khene aap-paa-nung kaa-de
 you my-father-Com 2.Sg.A. go-.non-Pret
 "You go with my father."
 b. aa khene-nung phen-naa
 I you-Com come-1.Sg.A.non-Pret
 "I come with you."
 c. aac-cha ku-dak-nung paangwaa
 my-son his-friend-Com play-3.Sg.A.non-Pret
 "My child plays with his friend."

The marker <-nung> in sentences(12a,b,c) is the comitative case marker because it carries the meaning "accompanied by" or "with". The comitative suffix <-nung> is used to coordinate nominal groups as a conjunction "and". For example,

- (13) a. pit nung sawet b. yum nung macchi
 cow and buffalo salt and chilli
 c. waa nung phaak d. tak nung sumbaak
 chicken and pig rice and scup

The nominal groups in (13a,b,c,d) are coordinated by the comitative case marker <-nung>.

The mediative: The mediative case is used in the sense of an abstract medium.

- (14) a. panibaa paan-laam b. yaakthungbaa paan-laam
 nepali language-Med limbu language-Med
 "Through the Nepali language" "Through the Limbu language"

- | | |
|--|---|
| c. panibaa paan-nung
nepali language-Med
"Through the Nepali language" | d. yaakthungbaa paan-nung
limbu language-Med
"Through the Limbu language" |
|--|---|

The phrases in (14a,b) contain a case marker <- *laam* > and those in (14c,d) contain a case marker <-*nung*>. They express abstract media. They can be used in the sense of a simple medium.

- | | |
|---|--|
| (15) a. khangbe-laam
boatMed
"Through the boat" | b. paangbhe-laam
village-Med
"Through the village" |
| c. khangbe-nung
boat-Med
"Through the boat" | d. paangbhe-nung
village-Med
"Through the village" |

The examples in (15a,,c,d) indicate the use of <-*laam*> and <-*nung*> as expressions of simple media.

Ablative: Ablative case is a form taken by a noun phrase to express a range of locative meaning 'from'. It is marked by the suffixes <-*nung*> and <-*laam*>.

- | | |
|--|---|
| (16) a. kaathmandu-laam
kathmandu-Abl
"From Kathmandu" | b. pyaangsi-laam
paddy-field-Abl
"From the paddy-field" |
| c. kaathmandu-nung
kathmandu-Abl
"From Kathmandu" | d. pyaangsi-nung
paddy-field-Abl
"From the paddy-field" |

The ablative case markers <- *laam* > and <-*nung* > in (16a,b,c,d) indicate the original space.

Sometimes, locative suffix <-*o*> and ablative suffix <-*laam*> or <-*nung*> are combined to specify the location. For example:

- (17) a. khune paangbhe-o- laam/nung taah-aa
he village-Loc-Abl come-3.Sg.A.-Pret
"He came from the village."
- b. aa syaa paang-o-laam/nung taar-u-ng
I rice house-Loc-Abs bring-3Sg.Thm-1.Sg.APret
"I brought rice from the house."

- c. laahaang-ngaa sing taambhung-o-laam/nung taar-u
lahang-Erg firewood forest-Loc-Abl bring-3.Sg.A/3.SgThm.Pret
"Lahang brought firewood from the forest."

The sentences (17a,b,c) contain compound case marker <-o-laam/nung> which is the combination of the locative case marker <-o> and ablative case marker <-laam/nung>. This case marker is suffixed to the nouns, *paangbhe* 'village', *paang* 'house' and *taangbhung* 'forest'.

Allative: Allative refers to a type of inflection, which expresses the meaning of motion 'to', 'towards' or 'as far as'. It is marked by the suffixes <-lekhaang> or <-naang> 'to' or 'toward' and <-dhaarik> 'as far as'.

- (18) a. aa paangbhe- dhaarik tek- ngaa
I village-Allt go-1.Sg.A.non-Pret
"I will go as far as the village."

b. khune aa aa-baang-dhaarik aa-saadhaa-ng
he me my-house-Allt 1P-accompany-3.Sg.A.Pret
"He accompanied me as far as my house."

c. khune pyaangsi-naang/lekhaang teg-aa
he paddy-field- Allt go-3.Sg.A.Pret
"He went to/towards the field."

d. khune aa-baang-naang/lekhang pher-aa
he my-house- Allt come-3.Sg.A.Pret
"He came to/ towards my house."

The sentences in (18a,b) contain an allative marker <-dhaarik> and those in (18c,d) contain allative markers <-naang> and <-lekhaang>, which are interchangeable.

The Comparative Degree: The comparative degree is indicated by a suffix <-aang> affixed to the nominal head to be compared. For example:

- (19) a. khune-aang kembaa khene kaa-juk
he- than tall you 2.Sg.A-be non-Pret
"You are taller than he."

b. khene-aang nubaa aa cuk-ngaa
you-than handsome I be-1.Sg.A. non-Pret
"I am more handsome than you."

- c. aa-aang tumbaa khune cuk
 I-than old he be-3.Sg.A..non-Pret
 "He is older than I"

In the above sentences the suffix <-aang> affixed to the pronominal heads is a comparative suffix.

The case forms of the nominal kaa-ghup-paa 'one who steals' are summarised in the table below.

Summary of case markers the Chhathare Limbu in the singular, dual and plural contexts

	case	singular	dual	plural
1	Absolutive	Kaa-ghup-paa	Kaa-ghup-paa-ghaachi	Kaa-ghup-paa-ghaa
2	Ergative	Kaa-ghup-paa-ngaa	Kaa-ghup-paa-ghaachi-ngaa	Kaa-ghup-paa-ghaa-ngaa
3	Instrumental	kaa-ghup-paa-ngaa	kaa-ghup-paa-ghaachi-ngaa	kaa-ghup-paa-ghaa-ngaa
4	Genitive	kaa-ghup-paa-ngaa-ng	kaa-ghup-paa-ghaachi-ngaa-ng	kaa-ghup-paa-ghaa-ngaa-ng
5	Vocative	kaa-ghup-paa-e	kaa-ghup-paa-ghaachi-e	kaa-ghup-paa-ghaa-e
6	Locative	kaa-ghup-paa-o	kaa-ghup-paa-ghaa-chi-o	kaa-ghup-paa-gha-o
7	Comitative	kaa-ghup-paa-nung	kaa-ghup-paa-ghaa-chi-nung	kaa-ghup-paa-ghaa-nung
8	Mediative	kaa-ghup-paa-laam/nung	kaa-ghup-paa-gha-chi- laam/nung	kaa-ghup-paa-ghaa-laam/nung
9	Ablative	kaa-ghup-paa-laam/nung	kaa-ghup-paa-gha-chi- laam/nung	kaa-ghup-paa-ghaa-laam/nung
10	Allative	kaa-ghup-paa-dhaarik	kaa-ghup-paa-ghaa-chi- dhaarik	kaa-ghup-paa-ghaa-dhaarik
11	Comparative	kaa-ghup-paa-aang	kaa-ghup-paa-ghaa-chi-aang	kaa-ghup-paa-ghaa-aang

Conclusion

The Chhathare Limbu has eleven case markers. They are absolutive, ergative, instrumental, genitive, vocative, comitative, locative, mediative; ablative, allative and comparative. The nominals of Chhathare Limbu inflect case.

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मौलिक लोकगीतभित्रको पश्चिम नेपाल

रत्नाकर देवकोटा

प्राक्कथन

साहित्य मुख्यगरी लोकसाहित्य, सिर्जनशील साहित्य र प्रेरित साहित्यसमेत तीन किसिमको मानिन्छ । श्रष्टाको भावना र मन-मस्तिस्कबाट स्वतः सिर्जिएको साहित्य सिर्जनशील साहित्य भनिन्छ । जसलाई कलम र कापीको माध्यमबाट लिपिवद्ध गरेर बाहिर देखाइएको, सुनाइएको र छपाइएको हुन्छ । यसलाई लिखित साहित्य पनि भनिन्छ ।

लेखक वा कविको आफ्नो चाहनाअनुसार नभई अरु कसैको प्रेरणा, आग्रह, अनुरोध वा वाध्यताले लेखिएको साहित्य प्रेरित साहित्य हो । कविले वर्णमातृक छन्दमा साहित्यको सिर्जना गर्दा प्राचीन साहित्याचार्यहरूद्वारा व्यवस्थित शास्त्रीय मर्यादाको पालना गर्नु पर्ने हुन्छ ।

लोकसाहित्य परम्परागत रूपमा चल्दैआएको श्रुति परम्परालाई एको कथनपछि अर्काले अनुशरण गर्दै मानस पटलमा राखेको हुन्छ । त्यसैलाई कविले घटना प्रधान बनाई व्यवहारमा उतारेर कथेको हुन्छ । लोकसाहित्यका विभिन्न विधामा लोकगीतको प्रथम र लोककथाको दोस्रो स्थान छ । यसै गरी अन्य विधाको क्रमशः स्थान रहँदै आएको छ ।

लोकगीतभित्र लोक र गीत दुइटै शब्द आवद्ध छन् । लोक भन्नाले लोक र वेद दुई किसिमको वर्ग वा समाज हुन्छ । ग्रामीणक्षेत्र र परम्परागत संस्कारमा बस्ने मानिसहरूलाई लोक वा लौकिक समाज र शहरीक्षेत्र र परिष्कृत रूपमा बस्ने मानिसहरूलाई वेद वा वैदिक समाज भन्ने बुझिन्छ । ग्रामीण क्षेत्रका मानिसहरूले भोगेका सुख, दुःख, पीडा, हर्ष विष्मात, लाभ, हानि, पश्चाताप आदिलाई समेटेर गीतको माध्यमबाट व्यक्त गरेका हुन्छन् ।

लोकगीतका सर्जक हुँदैनन् । यदि भए पनि आफ्नो नाम सर्जकका रूपमा राख्न चाहँदैनन् भन्ने कथन छ । तर सर्जक हुँदैनन् भन्ने कुरा सत्य होइन । एउटा कुनै भावुक (कवि) नभै यसको सिर्जना कस्ले गर्‍यो त ? भन्ने प्रश्न उठ्छ । त्यस लोकगीतको एउटा सर्जक त अवश्य कोही हो । वि.सं. २०४६ सालपछि पनि पश्चिम नेपालमा थुप्रै लोकगीतको सिर्जना भएको छ । उदाहरणका रूपमा यी तीन वटा लोकगीतलाई अगाडि सार्ौं:

- (१) हलो फाटी द्वि फ्याक् भया, थापा र चन् (चन्द) भया ।
कँग्रेसका छतीस्या भया, ए.मा.ले. भन् भया ॥
- २०५१ सालदेखि २०५८ सालसम्मको राष्ट्रिय राजनीति
- (२) काँग्रेस फूटी द्वि फ्याक् भया, ललि र लाल भया ।
अदन्या र हरिचन्, जोगीको ताल भया ॥
- २०५१ सालको मध्यावधि निर्वाचनमा जुम्लाको राजनीतिक अवस्था
- (३) मजदूरका माननीय, ए.मा.ले. का नेता ।
कैऽले त मा.ले.का नेता, एता जाउँकी उता ॥
- २०५१ साल पछिको जुम्लाको राजनीति

विषय प्रवेश

प्रस्तुत आलेखमा पश्चिम नेपाल खास गरी मध्यपश्चिमाञ्चल र सुदूर पश्चिमाञ्चल विकासक्षेत्रअन्तर्गतका कर्णाली, भेरी, सेती, महाकाली र राप्ती अञ्चलभित्रका प्रमुख र सहायक नदी एवं यी अञ्चलभित्रका जिल्लाका भौगोलिक परिचायक, कर्णाली अञ्चल र वरपरका भू-भागमा पाइने मौलिक (प्राकृतिक एवं अप्राकृतिक) फूलका नाम सरदर ३०० ओटा लोकगीत समेटिएका छन् ।

साथै यी अञ्चलभन्दा पूर्वका गण्डकी, कृष्णागण्डकी (कालीगण्डकी) त्रिशूली र मेची नदी सम्बन्धमा पश्चिमेसी लोककवि एवं लोककवियित्रीहरूले रचेका फुटकर २/४ वटा लोकगीत यहाँ समाविष्ट छन् । यहाँ सङ्कलित लोकगीतहरूको अध्ययन, अनुसन्धान, सङ्कलन र विश्लेषणबाट एउटा के कुरा सिद्ध भएको छ भने लोकसाहित्यको सिर्जनामा पूर्वी नेपालभन्दा पश्चिम नेपालका लोकसर्जकहरू अगाडि रहेछन् । पश्चिम नेपालका यी नदीहरूमध्ये पनि कर्णाली र सेती अञ्चलका कवि/कवियित्रीहरू मौलिक लोकगीतको माध्यमबाट पश्चिम नेपालका नदी, पहाड, रुख, वनस्पति, फूल, चरा-चुरुङ्गी, पशु-वस्तु, जनजीवन, प्राकृतिक स्रोत र सम्पदाको वर्णन गर्न वढी सक्षम रहेछन् भन्ने कुरा यहाँ सङ्कलित यी लोकगीतहरूले प्रष्ट गरेका छन् ।

लोकगीत छन्दोबद्ध हुँदैन, वर्णमातृक नियम लोकगीतमा हुँदैन । रस, भाव, अलङ्कार, लोकगीतमा हुँदैन भन्ने कुरा यहाँ बिल्कुल भुटुठा साबित भएको छ ।

पश्चिम नेपाल भन्नाले नेपालको राजधानी काठमाण्डौँ उपत्यकाभन्दा पश्चिमका वागमती (केही भाग), गण्डकी, नारायणी (केही भाग), लुम्बिनी, धवलागिरी, राप्ती, भेरी, कर्णाली, सेती र महाकाली अञ्चल भित्रका सरदर ४५ जिल्ला पर्दछन् । तर प्रस्तुत आलेखमा हाललाई मध्य र सुदूर पश्चिमाञ्चल विकासक्षेत्रभित्रका २४ जिल्लालाई वढी फोकस् दिएर लोकगीतको माध्यमबाट यहाँका अञ्चल, जिल्ला, नदी, हिमाल, फूल र चरा-चुरुङ्गीलाई प्रकाशमा ल्याउन खोजिएको छ ।

यहाँ लोकगीतको २८ अक्षरीय (माथिल्लो र तल्लो पंक्ति एवं चार वटा पाउ) छन्द शास्त्रीय छन्दसँग मिल्न मिल्न खोजे पनि मिल्न सक्दैन । यसैले यस छन्दलाई यस पंक्तिकारले “कर्णाली छन्द” भनेर नाम राखेको छ । पश्चिम नेपालका उपर्युक्त यी पाँच अञ्चलभित्रका सरदर १५०० लोकगीत सङ्कलन गरी सूक्ष्म अध्ययनगर्दा यहाँका यी लोकगीतको साङ्गठनिक रूप र स्वरूप यस्तो पाइन्छ :

पहिलो पंक्ति :-

✱ ५५ ५१ ५५ ५५, ५१ ५५१ - चौध अक्षर

५५ ५१ ५५ ५५, ५१ ५५१ - चौध अक्षर

तल प्रस्तुत गरिने लोकगीतका यी वार्षिक नियम (छन्द) र व्याकरणीय प्रावधानअनुसार पाठक, अध्येता, अनुसन्धाता, श्रोता, प्रयोक्ता र विद्यार्थीहरूले यी प्रत्येक लोकगीतलाई चार

✱ ५५ भन्नाले दीर्घ र प्लुत उच्चारण हुने शब्द मान्नु पर्ने, द्वितीया विभक्तिको ‘कन’, चतुर्थी विभक्तिको ‘लाई’, पञ्चमी विभक्तिको ‘देखि’ वा ‘बाट’, षष्ठी विभक्तिको ‘को’, ‘का’, ‘की’ र सप्तमी विभक्तिको ‘मा’, ‘माथि’ भन्ने शब्द लुकेको भन्ने बुझ्नु पर्ने छ ।

✱ अक्षरको द्वस्व उच्चारण भएको मान्नु पर्नेछ ।

भागमा बाँडेर पहिलो र तेस्रो पाउ ८/८ अक्षर एवं दोस्रो र चौथो पाउलाई ६/६ अक्षरका दरले विभाजन गर्नुपर्ने हुन्छ ।

काठमाण्डौ र ललितपुरबाट प्रकाशित हुने उपासना (द्वैमासिक-२०५१), मिमिरे (मासिक-२०५७ र २०५९) र रोलम्बा (त्रैमासिक-२०५१) आदि पत्रिकाहरूमा यस पंक्तिकारले लोकगीतको उपर्युक्त सिद्धान्त प्रतिपादित गर्दै आएको छ । यस सिद्धान्तले समाजमा स्थायित्व पाउन केही वर्ष लाग्ला । यसै आलेखभित्र समाविष्ट कतिपय लोकगीत उपर्युक्त नियमभित्र आवद्ध नभएका पनि हुन सक्छन् । यो नियम यस लेखकले मात्र पालन गरेर पुर्याउन । अरु पाठक, अध्येता र अनुसन्धाताको दृष्टिमा उपर्युक्त लागेर शास्त्रीय नियम सम्मत ठानी सोहीअनुसार लागू हुन सकेमा छिटै यस नियमले उचित स्थान पाउला । शुरु-शुरुका वर्षमा यो नौलो र अप्ठेरो लाग्न सक्छ ।

लोकगीतको पहिलो वा दोस्रो पंक्तिको पछिल्लो अक्षर सिद्धान्ततः द्वय मानिएको छ तर यस कुरामा लोकगीतभित्रका शब्दको अवस्था हेरेर पछिल्लो अक्षरलाई वैकल्पिक (द्वय वा दीर्घ दुवै) रूपमा राख्न सकिन्छ । फेरी अर्को कुरा कुनै कुनै लोकगीत भित्र अ, इ, उ वा ए ले सो नियमलाई नाघि दिएका पनि छन् । सम्बन्धित शब्दकै आवश्यकता भएको र सो शब्दलाई बदल्दा लोकगीतले दर्शाउन खोजेको आशय नै उलट-पुलट हुने हुँदा सीमित नियमभन्दा बढी भएका स्वर वर्ण (अ, इ, उ वा ए) लाई हलन्त अक्षरसरह मानेर उच्चारण गर्नु पर्ने हुन्छ ।

पश्चिम नेपालका यी प्रत्येक लोकगीतको मूल्याङ्कन गर्न बडो गाहरो छ । वार्षिक छन्दमा रचिएका संस्कृत वा नेपाली कुनै एउटा कविताभित्र कतिवटा अलङ्कार परेका छन् भनी सूक्ष्म रूपमा अध्ययन गर्दा कुनै कुनै कवितामा १५/१६ ओटा अलङ्कार पनि पाइन्छन् । त्यसै गरी यहाँका यी लोकगीतको अध्ययन गर्दा एउटा लोकगीतलाई चार पाउमा विभाजन गर्दा प्रत्येक पाउमा एउटा न एउटा अलङ्कार अवश्य परेको हुन्छ । एउटा लोकगीतको समष्टि (सम्पूर्ण) र व्यष्टि (केही भाग) मा भाव, अलङ्कार, रस, ध्वनि र छन्दको मूल्याङ्कन गर्दा छन्द एउटै भएता पनि रस र अलङ्कार धेरै पाइन्छन् । एउटै लोकगीतलाई त्यस लोकगीतका एक-एक पंक्ति र एक-एक पाउको हिसाबले हेर्दा बेग्लाबेग्लै रूपमा मूल्याङ्कन गर्न सकिन्छ ।

ठाउँ, परिस्थिति र परिवेशअनुसार सम्बन्धित लोकगीतको पहिलो वा दोस्रो कुनै एउटा पंक्ति र सम्बन्धित लोकगीतभित्रका चार पाउमध्ये कुनै एउटा पाउलाई मात्र टिपेर चाहेको विषयको उल्लेख गर्नु पर्ने हुन्छ ।

पश्चिम नेपालका स्थान (अञ्चल, जिल्ला, भेक, गाउँ र ठाउँ) विशेष, फूल (पुष्प) विशेष, नदी विशेष, पंखी विशेषका लोकगीतहरूको माध्यमबाट पश्चिम नेपाललाई चिनाउनु प्रस्तुत आलेखको मुख्य उद्देश्य भएको हुँदा त्यस्तै त्यस्तै खालका लोकगीतहरूलाई मात्र यहाँ समावेश गरिएको छ । युवा-युवतीहरूको माया-प्रीति, श्रीमान्-श्रीमतीबीचको प्रेम, विदेशिएका श्रीमान्को स्मरण आदि विषयसँग सम्बन्धित लोकगीत यस आलेखमा हाल समावेश गरिएका छैनन् ।

यहाँ प्रस्तुत लोकगीतहरूले नेपालका अञ्चलहरूलाई चिनाउनु पर्दा हाल महाकाली, सेती, भेरी र राप्ती अञ्चललाई बढि चिनाएका छन् । यसै गरी जिल्लालाई चिनाउने लोकगीतहरूले पश्चिम नेपालका २४ जिल्लालाई र नदीलाई चिनाउने लोकगीतहरूले महाकाली, सेती, भेरी, चौबेरी, कर्णाली, राप्ती (पूर्वनाम ऐरापती), बबई (बबै), शारदा,

गण्डकी, कृष्णागण्डकी (कालीगण्डकी), रीडीगण्डकी, विशूली र मेची नदीलाई समेटेका छन् ।

यी निम्न सङ्कलित लोकगीतहरूले इतिहास, संस्कृति, भुगोल, राजनीति, साहित्य, पुरातत्व, भूगर्भ आदि विषयको प्रकाशनमा पूर्वको अपेक्षा पश्चिम निकै पछि छ भन्ने कुरालाई यी प्रकाशनबाट पश्चिमलाई पूर्वको अपेक्षा अघि ल्याइदिने छ र उपयुक्त विषयहरूको खोजी गर्नमा यी लोकगीत सहायक सिद्ध हुनेछन् भन्ने लागेको छ ।

नदी सम्बन्धी लोकगीत

कर्णाली

(क) पहिलो पाउमा “कर्णाली” शब्द परेका लोकगीत

- (१) कर्णाली घुमौटो पड्यो, लौडी बगाउनैन ।
जोगी हुन्या कर्म होकि ?, डूली अगाउनैन ॥
- (२) कर्णाली घुमौटो पड्यो, लौडी बगाउनैन ।
बैरागीका बाँजा मून, डूली अगाउनैन ॥
- (३) कर्णाली घुमौटो पड्यो, लौडी बगाउनैन ।
यो पापी जुन्कीडि माति, देखी अगाउनैन ॥
- (४) कर्णाली कर्णालितिर, भेरी भेरितिर ।
मू एक्लो डाडाँको मिर्ग, क्वैऽनाई मेरातिर ॥
- (५) कर्णाली नदीका माछा, दैलेख दर्कार ।
स्हः(स)गीयाऽऽ घाम्लाग्या जुन, अर्प तँ सर्कार ॥
- (६) कर्णालीका छइल छइल, फूल पुडौरा पायाँ ।
जैथा कैथा लेग्न बैथा, उचाट लागि आया ॥
- (७) कर्णालीका छइल छइल, फूल पुडौरा पायाँ ।
“सिँजापति” भून्त्या जति, उचाट लागि आया ॥
- (८) कर्णालीका कर्णछिटा, भेरीका भवल्का ।
साई टाढा मू पुनि टाढा, लाउन्छौ भ्रभल्का ॥
- (९) कर्णालीका स्हाः(सा)उन्या भल, बगी आया मुडा ।
जुन्मदैऽऽ मिल्पाका दुन्त, खुल्की जान्नु पुडा ॥
- (१०) कर्णालीका पाँच जिल्लामा, डोलपा कालकिोट ।
कर्णालीका दुख स्हः(सु)म्ज्या, मर्म लाग्छन् चोट ॥
- (११) कर्णालीको चिसो पानी, प्यौऽऽ भुन्या कति प्यौऽऽ ।
स्हः(सु)म्जनाले रँऽऽ रँऽऽ लाग्छ, रँऽऽ भुन्या कति रँऽऽ ॥
- (१२) कर्णालीमा फिन बग्छन्, भवीऽऽसाका मैऽऽजन ।
छोडदिन्छु, जुन्जाल्या घरबार, ह्वैऽऽ जान्छु दैऽऽजन ॥
- (१३) कर्णालीमा किन आयो, बैशागैमा भल ।
दैऽऽले फाम पायाकी भया, उत्तरा दिहाल ॥
- (१४) कर्णालीमा नाव लाग्या, डुँगेसोर स्हौः(साँ)गु ।
खोलाको गुडगटो भुन्नो, साईका जोडा लागु ॥
- (१५) कर्णालीमा मिसिदो छ, पानी जुगाडैको ।
दर्शन भेट कैऽऽले पाउँला, रुप्या मुहाडैको ॥
- (१६) कर्णालीले बगाइ ल्यायो, गेडो भलायाको ।
फेरि भेट कैऽऽले पाउँला, रुप्या मुहाडैको ॥
- (१७) कर्णालीले बगाइल्यायो, स्हाः(सा)उन्या रौँऽऽको नल ।
मीठो फल खान्या भया, मायालु ? नछल ॥

- (१८) कर्णालीय ! छाल नहान्, भेरीय ! फीन् फटा ।
घर्बारीय ? घर नजा, दुखीको दिन कटा ॥
- (१९) कर्णाल्युँदो बगी आयो, गेडो भलायाको ।
रानी बून चन्न आयौ, छकि पलायाको ? ॥
- (२०) आँट छ कर्णालि थुन्न, स्तः(स)र्ग तारा गुन्न ।
लहड चल्याका वेला, क्वेऽऽ आउनैनन् भुन्न ॥
- (२१) उँधो हिँडन्याँ करनाली, ऊबो न रिट्याको ।
ब्याइगयो राउन्या रात, स्तूँ(सूँ)रै नफिट्याको ॥
- (२२) उँधो बग्न्या करनाली, उबो रीट लाक्या ? ।
कठ्ठै ? यो बाजलाई देख्याँ, स्तूँ(सूँ)रै फिटलाक्या ? ॥
- (२३) ठूली आमा करनाली, नानी आमा तिला ।
अब हामी ठोकौ ठाकौ, विकाशका किला ॥
- (२४) काली र कर्णालि तन्याँ, भेरि म्वीऽऽ तरुँ कि ? ।
घाटीउनो पासो लगाई, न्येऽऽ कतै मरुँ कि ? ॥
- (२५) ओच्युनो कर्णालि जाला, पोच्युनो भेरी जा ।
जुन्म दिन्या भाविनीय ?, आ दुख्ख हेरी जा ॥
- (२६) नदी लामू कर्णालि हो, म्वीऽऽना लामु जेठ ।
मरीगया यति भैगो, बाँच्या होला भेट ॥
- (२७) दुर्गम् उन्चल् कर्णालिमा, मोटरले छुन्या नाई ।
ज्या गन्या आपैलाई ठिक्क, हामीऽऽन हुन्या नाई ॥
- (२८) धेरै लामू करनालि, ठौर ठौर टापू ।
काँऽऽ गया साति-भाई मेरा, काँऽऽ रयाँ मू आँपु ॥
- (२९) ओच्युनो करणालि बग्छ, पोच्युनो काली छ ।
बाज ? तो कोल् भरि ह्वेऽऽजा, कोल् मेरो खालीछ ॥
- (३०) भेरी हौकि ? कर्णालि हो, पानी त पानि हो ।
बूडो छु कसरि लागू, बालख्ख मानियौ ॥
- (३१) मोटर बाटो कर्णालिलाई, तटबन्द बबैलाई ।
कर्णालीका पीडा बुर्जू, स्वागत छ स्तः(स)वैलाई ॥
- (३२) माछो मिठो कर्णालिको, जल् मिठो कालीको ।
सेल बस्न पाइएला कि ?, सिलङ्गी डालीको ॥
- (३३) मैऽऽ पानी कर्णालि पारी, बाज हिँड्छो लुम्की ।
कति आया ध्वीनाल् च्वीनाल्, कति आया गुम्की ॥
- (३४) लामै लामू करनाली, कै भागर छिरी ।
बैऽऽन्या हौकि उतै तिर, आउन्या हौकि फिरी ॥
- (३५) स्तः(स)ज हिँड्छो करनाली, फाल हाल्लो चौभेरी ।
खट्क भडुल्ली लाउँला, दिनका नौ फेरी ॥
- (३६) स्तः(स)त बग्न्या कर्णालिय, छोटो बग्न्या भेरी ।
कैथो भाग्य ल्यायाँ म्वीऽऽले, जुन्म लिँदा खेरी ॥
- (३७) स्तः(सा)उनकि कर्णालि तन्या, गोर्खालि पल्टन ।
मिल्याका स्तूँ(सूँ)डाति भया, जज्या परयो बून ॥
- (३८) लामै छ कर्णालि नदी, लामै छ लुम्जना ।
एक्कै चोटि गीत भून, अरुऽऽन स्तूँ(सूँ)म्जना ॥
- (३९) कर्णाली तीपका माछा, पोल्या पोल्दै रुनान् ।
तो र मो देश छोडि बाइजाउ, भून्या भूनै रुनान् ॥

- (४०) कर्णाली पदंश भरी, माताको दृष्टि छ ।
चरन(ण)को कर्णाले नै, मोतीया बृष्टि छ ॥
- (४१) कर्णालीको नारो हैकि ?, कालीको रौलो है ? ।
फटीकको मूर्ति है कि, दर्शको मौलो है ? ॥
- (४२) कर्णाली दुवालो बुज्याँ, माछो भडक् भडक् ।
लागीगो जुनेली रात, दैबु लडक लडक ॥
- (४३) गुडगा ठूलो कर्णालिको, लेख् ठूलो कटीको ।
पाँच तोला बस्याको माया, एक तोला घटिगो ॥
- (४४) लेतो बग्यो कर्णालिको, भल् बग्यो सेतीको ।
बालो ल्याइ चडाउँदो भयाँ, साइबाज्का खेतिको ॥
- (४५) काली द्यैऽऽ कर्णालि ठूलो, भर्दुनीका जल ।
यीं दुख्ख कोसंग भुनूँ, परेवाका दल ॥
- (४६) सहः(स)बूद्वैऽऽ कर्णालि ठूली, भर्दुनिकी जल ।
बाइर आउन व्वैऽऽ सहः(स)वतैनन्, भित्तै कलहल ॥
- (४७) सहः(स)ज बगन्या करनाली, फाल हाल्या सेती ।
यो देश् मेरो हुनैन कि, कोलाइ लाउँ खेती ॥
- (४८) सहः(स)ज बगन्या, करनाली, फाल हाल्लो भेरी ।
बाडुली लाग्दैन हो क्या ?, माया भया खेरी ॥
- (४९) कर्णाली तिरका माछ, दैलेख दर्कार ।
सहः(स) गीयाऽऽ घाम् लाग्या जुन, अर्प तँ सर्कार ॥
- (५०) कर्णालीले वगाइल्यायो, सहा(सा)उन्या गूँऽऽको नल ।
मीठो फल खान्याभया, मायाल् ?नछल ॥
- (५१) गुङ्गा ठूलो कर्णालिको, लेख् ठूलो कटिको ।
पाँच तोला बस्याको मायाँ, एक तोला घटिगो ॥ इत्यादि ।

(ख) दोस्रो पाउमा “कर्णाली” शब्द परेका लोकगीत

- (१) कैऽऽले वारि कैऽऽले पारी, कर्णालिका नाऊ ।
राज्गर राज्कीर्ति गर, अब नाउँ कुमाऊ ॥
- (२) चूली मालिकाको पानी, कर्णालिको छऽऽडो ।
गोर्खा राज्य घूमीगयाँ, अब गयो घऽऽडो ॥
- (३) वाई आइजाया भात् खाइजाया, कर्णालि न्हाः(ना)इजाया ।
दी दिन्को ओलिबाड् होला, अगान्जि खाइजाया ॥
- (४) वाइ आइजाउँला भात् खाइजाउँला, कर्णालि न्हाः(ना)इ जाउँला ।
ताँऽऽकी तीं बैकेनीकन, चूचू हात् लाइजाउँला ॥
- (५) स्वीज्युला सुप हाल्वाख्या कर्णालि फाल्द्वयोऽऽ ।
राम्डी राम्डी ख्वैऽऽन्याभया, बाँजा घाऽऽ लाउनदेल् ॥
- (६) कैलाडीमा हिँडीहिँडी, कर्णालि तन्नैछ ।
एक् चोटी हजूरका कोल, मूलकाज् गन्नैछ ॥
- (७) तेर उन्चल् मोटरबाटो, कर्णालिमा छैन ।
कर्णालिका मूत्का दुख्ख, बुज्जिन्या व्वैऽऽछैन ॥
- (८) हुम्ला जुम्ला मुगु डोल्पा, कर्णालिका जिल्ला ।
ओ सह्ः(सु)कारी ? मोटरबाटो, मिल्लाकि नमिल्ला ? ॥
- (९) चूली मालिकाको पानी, कर्णालिको छऽऽडो ।
जुम्लाराज्य घूमिगयाँ, अब गयो घऽऽडो ॥

अथवा

गाखाराज्य घूमिगयाँ, अब गया घऽऽडो ॥

- (१०) कैऽऽले स्हूँ (सूँ)लो कैऽऽले धूँऽऽलो, कर्णालिको कूलो ।
जुन्मदिने भाविनी द्यैऽऽ, माया बैरी ठूलो ।
- (११) कैऽऽले पानी स्हूँ (सूँ)लो छैन, कर्णालि-बवैको ।
मेरोमायाँ ववैऽऽमान्नेनौ, मू मान्नेो स्हः (स) बैको ॥
- (१२) बर्खा भल गाड खोला, बैशाग कर्णाली ।
विपत्तिमा भुन् चुम्कन्या, ठूलाको पर्णाली ॥
- (१३) वारि लाली पारि थाली, बीच करनाली ।
व्यूऽऽ पाइनैकि वल्ल पाइनै, किन लाइनै बाली ? ॥
- (१४) नेपाल आमाकि छोरी, दुखी छन कर्णाली ।
कर्णालीमा विकाश छैन पछाडि पर्ला नि ? ॥
- (१५) माल्चडी त पौडि खेल्त्या, कर्णालिका तीर ।
बाइर बाँदै हाइन्या खेल्त्या, भित्त बाँदै पीर ॥
- (१६) पस्सिम दिशा बूडी गुङ्गा, पूर्व कर्णालिले ।
उत्तर-दखिन् कुन्डाकैलाश, मालिका उँगाले ॥ इत्यादि ।

(ग) तेस्रो पाउमा “कर्णाली” शब्द परेका लोकगीत

- (१) को गयो चैतका लेख, को लाग्यो कुल्लन ।
कर्णाली छाल हान्या जुन, मून् लाग्यो उल्लुन ॥
- (२) चीमाराकि मालिकाय, भूरिचूला पुनि ।
कर्णाली त ज्यादै राम्डो, पर्कीतिको धूनि ॥
- (३) जु (ज)वा नदि तिलानदी, हिमानदि मिली ।
कर्णालिमा मिल्न आइन्, गदै भिलीमिली ॥
- (४) त्यैऽऽ कर्णालिका यीँ जिल्लाहुन्, डोल्पा कालिकोट ।
कर्णालिका दुख्ख स्हुँ (सु)म्न्या, मर्म लाग्छन् चोट ॥
- (५) जामु त्यैँ ऽऽ छ, क्वीन्या त्यैँऽऽछ, माछा मारी खान्या ।
कर्णालिको पूल तरी, धूनगडिमा जान्या ॥
- (६) पाखाका भूँगेडाकन, तीन जोडि नेल् थिया ।
कर्णालिको मीनु भाच्याँ, उल्लँदा भेल् थिया ॥
- (७) हेदैछु आकाशतिर, देख्छु खैरो खैरो ।
कर्णालिको विकाश भया, रोकिन्या छ पैरो ॥
- (८) खलझौनो बिक्कुल्या छन्, पोरिउनो फाँचो ।
उनो हिँडन्या करनाली, उबो हिँडन्या माछो ।
- (९) छोरी हिँडडि माइततिर, कोशेलिको फाँचो ।
उनो हिँडन्या करनाली, उबो हिँडन्या माछो ॥
- (१०) छ सात-दिन् पैदल्को बाटो, भारी बोकिनन ।
मून् बजाउँ कर्णालिबासी ?, आपै स्हुँ (सु)म्जकन ॥
- (११) मान्सरोऽऽर माथि पड्यो, तल छ सीम्कोट ।
विकाश छैन कर्णालिमा, मर्म लाग्छ चोट ॥
- (१२) किर्मिलाले घट्ट लायो, भ्यागुत्तो रिडाउनो ।
कर्णालिमा आगो लाग्यो, घासले निबाउन ॥ (जुम्ली घ्याउटा)
- (१३) खार्पु तिथ्य हुम्ला पड्यो, जुम्ला तातापानी ।
कर्णालिमा भोक्ति पाइँदा, जडि-दूटि खानी ॥

- (१४) शेर साइले गुल्यालि हान्यो, कांल्या पड्यो खोला ।
कर्णालिको भलो गन्या, यैऽ देश को होला ?॥
- (१५) मालिकाकी नवै ब्वीऽनी, धूम बस्याकिछन् ।
अगाड्युँदी करनाली, पाताल् पस्याकिछन् ॥
- (१६) आदा सहः(स)ल्लो लुकुपुक्का, आदासहः(स)ल्लो सेतो ।
मुखैति कर्णालि बरदो, मेरालागि लेतो ॥ इत्यादि ।

(घ) चौथो पाउमा “कर्णाली” शब्द परेका लोकगीत

- (१) गुड्या भेट भयाका वेला, मून् हुन्छ भरङ्ग ।
कैऽले गुन्न सहः(स) किएला, कर्णालि तरङ्ग ॥
- (२) राम्छो बाटो शहरको, भीङ् बाटो गाउँल्याको ।
तिर्खा मेटन्या पानी न पीऽ, कर्णालि धूलियो ॥
- (३) खाच्च सुङ्गट वर्ष सालै, भोक्मरी हुनोछ ।
विकाश भुन्नु कति छैन कर्णालि रुनोछ ॥
- (४) ऐऽले हाट तोकनै भयो, बान् फेटा वङ्गाली ?।
मू भयाँ कि सहः(स)वै भयूँ, पीमाको कर्णाली ।
- (५) काँदैमा बन्दूक हालि, काँऽ जान्छौ दर्नाली ? ।
आउँदा-जाँदा पानी प्यौला, न सहः(स) क्यैऽ कर्णाली ?॥
- (६) सहः(स) नै जानु भुनै जान्छु आम्ना मूत्का कथा ।
सहः(स)न्या सहः(स)बै ब्वीऽन्या क्यैऽनाई, कर्णालिका ब्यथा ॥
- (७) बावुज्यूका गैरी खेत, धान दर्नालिय ?।
तो घूम्या मेरो मून् घुम्छ, नघुम् कर्णालिय?॥
- (८) विना दुद भात् खानैन, राजा दर्नालिय ।
तो घूम्या मेरो मून् घुम्छ, नघुम् कर्णालिय?॥
- (९) ऐऽले राजा भात् खानैनन्, सेता दर्नालिय ।
आज्कालि छाल् कता हान्छै, मेरा कर्णालिय ?॥
- (१०) छि छि, भुन्या छिल्लाकोटी, बाल् भुन्या धनाली ।
आउँदा-जाँदा पानी प्यौला, न सहः(स) क्यैऽ कर्णाली ?॥
- (११) काँदैमा बन्दूक हालि, काँऽ जान्छौ दर्नाली ?।
आउँदा-जाँदा पानी प्यौला, न सहः(स) क्यैऽ कर्णाली ?॥
- (१२) हाम्मा, ज्यूला फलन्या हुन धान दर्नालिय ?।
रुप्या साइको नासो मेरो, ल्हाँ : (लै) जा कर्णालिय ? ॥
- (१३) राज्य जेठो विम्कोटको, रमाइलो दर्नाली ।
आउँदा-जाँदा पानी प्यौला, न सहः(स) क्यैऽ कर्णाली ?॥
- (१४) तेल्याका उकाला लाग्या, मूल्बाटो शेरीको ।
एकै दिन मूल् फूट्यो हो क्या ?, कर्णालि- भेरीको ॥
- (१५) सेलो राजा मुङ्गलसैन्या, चुकिलो दर्नाली ।
खाँदा क्या बाकाको गान्, पशता क्या ? कर्णाली ।
- (१६) पाउँछेत लस्कर्या हिँडाई, राजा दर्नालिको ।
भेट भया अचम्मै होला, भेरि -कर्णालिको ॥ इत्यादि ।

विभिन्न नदीलाई कर्णालीसँग आबद्ध गरी रचिएका लोकगीत

- (१) मोटर बाटो कर्णालीलाई, तटबन्ध बबैलाई ।
कर्णालीका दुख सहः(स)म्जु, स्वागत छ सहः(स)बैलाई ॥ (कर्णाली र बबई नदी)

- (२) भेरी हौंकी कर्णाली हौ, पानी त पनी हौ ।
बूडो छु कसरी लागू, बालछ्छ मानियौ ? ॥ (भेरी र कर्णाली नदी)
- (३) कर्णाली कर्णालि तिर, भेरी भेरि तिर ।
मू एग्लो डाँडाको मिरग, क्वैऽ नाई मेरा तिर ॥ (कर्णाली र भेरी नदी)
- (४) यो नाउत्या नाउटोतो ताइतो, कर्णाली-भेरीलाई ॥
चडो रुन्छ ऋतुकिलाई, मू रुन्छ तेरीलाई ॥ (कर्णाली र भेरी नदी)
- (५) नाउत्याले नाउबाट ताच्यो, कर्णाली-भेरीलाई ।
चडो रुन्छ ऋतुकिलाई, मू रुन्छ तेरीलाई ॥ (कर्णाली र भेरी नदी)
- (६) हल्का ठूला कर्णालीका, भेल ठूला भेरीका ।
कैऽलें कुडा स्हु(सु)निएलान्, राइ सुवा मेरीका ॥ (कर्णाली र भेरी नदी)
- (७) कर्णालीय ? छल नहान्, भेरीय फिन फटा ।
घर्वारीय ? घर नजा, दुखी का दिन कटा ॥ (कर्णाली र भेरी नदी)
- (८) हल्को हाल्ने करनाली, स्हः(स)ल्को हाल्ने, भेरी ।
मेरो मून व्हीऽन्या थियो, दर्शन पाया खेरी ॥ (कर्णाली र भेरी नदी)
- (९) जामू-क्वीन्या भेट गदाछन्, भेरी र कर्णाली ।
आपू हुना काँऽका काँऽका, थर् रास्ता "सिजाली" (सिजापति) ॥ (भेरी र कर्णाली)
- (१०) राजा भात खानैन भुन्ना, धान दर्नालीयौ ? ।
आज्काल छल कैऽ तिर हान्यौ, भेरी-कर्णालीयौ ? ॥ (भेरी र कर्णाली नदी)
- (११) माछो मीठो कर्णालीको, जल मीठो कालीको ।
सेल बैऽन पाइएलाकि ?, सिलङ्गी डालीको ॥ (कर्णाली र काली नदी)
(महाकाली वा कृष्णागण्डकी)
- (१२) ओयूनो कर्णाली बग्छ, पोयूनो काली छ ।
बाज तो कोल् भरी ह्वैऽजा, कोल् मेरो खाली छ ॥ (कर्णाली र महाकाली नदी)
- (१३) जुम्ला तल डोल्या माथि, कर्णाली-भेरी जा ।
लायाका तुलछ बाडी ?, फर्केर हेरी जा ॥ (कर्णाली र भेरी नदी)
- (१४) ओयूनो कर्णाली जाला, पोयूनो भेरी जा ।
जुन्म दिन्या भाबिनीय, आ दुख्छ हेरी जा ॥ (कर्णाली र भेरी नदी)
- (१५) स्हः(स)ज हिँड्डो करनाली, फाल हाल्लो भेरी ।
बाडुली लाग्दैन होक्या ?, माया भया खेरी ॥ (कर्णाली र भेरी नदी)
- (१६) स्हः(स)ज हिँड्डो करनाली, फाल हाल्लो सेती ।
यो देश मेरो हुनैन कि ?, केखन लाउँ खेती । (कर्णाली र सेती नदी)
- (१७) पाउँ खेत लस्कन्या हिँडाई, राजा दर्नालीको ।
भेट भया अचम्म होला, भेरि-कर्णालिको ॥ (भेरी र कर्णाली नदी)
- (१८) लेतो बग्यो कर्णालीको, भल् बग्यो सेतीको ।
बालो ल्याई चडाउँदो भयाँ, साइ वाज्का खेतीको ॥ (कर्णाली र सेती नदी)
- (१९) तेल्काका उकाला लाग्या, मूल बाटो शेरीको ।
एकै दिन मूल फुट्यो होक्या ?, कर्णाली-भेरीको ॥ (कर्णाली र भेरी नदी)
- (२०) पस्सिम दिशा बूडि गुङ्गा, पूर्व कर्णालीले ।
उत्तर-दक्खिन कुन्डा-कैलाश (ले), मालिका उँगाले ॥ (बूढीगङ्गा र कर्णाली)
- (२१) जामू-क्वीन्या भेट गदाछन्, कर्णाली र भेरी ।
आज्कालि काँऽ बस्यै हुन्निन, खुडि सुँगा मेरी ॥ (कर्णाली र भेरी नदी)
- (२२) स्हः(स)ज हिन्डो करनाली, फाल हाल्लो चौ(नौ) भेरी ।
खुटुक्क भाडुलि लाउँला दिनका नौ फेरी ॥ (कर्णाली र चौ(नौ) भेरी नदी)

- (२३) कर्णालीका कर्णछिटा, भेरीका भभल्का ।
साइ टाडा मू पुनि टाडा, क्या लाग्छे भभल्का ॥ (कर्णाली र भेरी नदी)
- (२४) फल्-फूल मीठो कर्णालीको, दूद मीठो भेरीको ।
मू कैऽले दर्शन पाउँला, रुपया बाजु मेरीको ॥ (कर्णाली र भेरी नदी)
- (२५) कैऽले पानी सहऽलो छैन, कर्णाली-बबैको ।
मेरो माया व्यैऽ मान्नेनौ, मू मान्ने, सहऽबैको ॥ (कर्णाली र बबै नदी)
- (२६) काली-कर्णालीका माछा, सेतीका भल् खाना ।
न्याऽ खोजेर काँऽ पाइनो हो, कर्मका फल् खाना ॥ (कर्णाली, सेती र महाकाली)
- (२७) काली र कर्णाली तन्याँ, भेरी म्दीऽ तरुँ कि ? ।
घाँटिउनो पासो लगाई, न्यैऽ कतै मरु कि ? ॥ (कर्णाली, भेरी र महाकाली नदी)
- (२८) कर्णाली (मा) बालुवा बग्दो, सेती (मा) बग्दो फीन ।
दयौलका बजार बसी, धेरै लग्यो रीन ॥ (कर्णाली र सेती नदी) इत्यादि ।

राप्ती अञ्चलभित्रका विभिन्न नदीसम्बन्धी लोकगीत

- (१) ऐरापती पूर्व ढल्क्यो, लरीको लिनैले ।
म साइलाई पालुला भन्छु, मागेको भिखैले । (ऐरापती नदी)
- (२) ऐरापती पुर्व ढल्क्यो, ठाउँ राम्रो हुनाले ।
धेरै दिनमा भेटु भयो, राखोको हुनाले ॥ (ऐरापती नदी)
- (३) डोरीको पूछ्यालो भिज्यो, ऐरापति तर्दा ।
रसी माया बसी लगाउँ, बखत्-पाली पर्दा ॥ (ऐरापती नदी)
- (४) ऐरापति फिनारैमा, सुन् चाल्यो खुनाले ।
साइ बाटनै गयो इमान्, म सज्जन् हुनाले ॥ (ऐरापती नदी)
- (५) उँदो बग्ने राप्तीय, उँबो बग्ने माछो ।
राम् थलीमा भर्खर आयौं, के छ चलन चाँजो ? । (राप्ती नदी)
- (६) राप्तीले बगाइ ल्यायो, रातो माटो गेरु ।
घर फेरें घरेली फेरें, कर्म काँ गै फेरु ? ॥ (राप्ती नदी)
- (७) पूर्व बग्ने राप्तीय, पछ्छिम् बग्ने भेरी ।
क्या नछेत्र पन्यो होला, म जन्दा खेरी ॥ (राप्ती र भेरी नदी)
- (८) बबैले बगाइ ल्यायो, औलि जाँका नल ।
मीठो फल खाने भया, दैबुलाई नछल ॥ (बबइ नदी)
- (९) काट्ट कुट्ट बगाइल्यायो, नदी यो बबैले ।
बर्दियाको ठाकुरद्वारा, नबिसुँ, कसैले ॥ (बबइ नदी)
- (१०) स्याउली सोत्तर बगाइ ल्यो, दाङ्को बबईले ।
बैरागी त गीत गाउँछ, सुन्दिनु सबैले ॥ (बबइ नदी)
- (११) माथि पन्यो क्वीरेपानी, तल बबै खोली ।
गाउँले बेरी कुरा काट्छन, हिँड गैजाउं भोली ॥ (बबइ नदी)
- (१२) घारी काँटा लेक् परेको, दाङ्को छयौमा बबै ।
जाने लाग्यो लर्क जोबन, मनुको भन्ने नभै ॥ (बबइ नदी)
- (१३) दाङ्को बबै नदी भित्र, तर्न सकिदैन ।
विपत्ति परीगो भनी, मर्न सकिदैन ॥ (बबइ नदी)
- (१४) रीङ्क्वीरी बासन लाग्यो, दाङ्को घारी बबै ।
बाइगो बाजाँ जोबनय, मनुको जस्तो नभै ॥ (बबइ नदी)
- (१५) शारदाले बगाइल्यायो, गौ र जाँको नल ।
लाउँ त हजुर मायालाइ, द्वीबाउलीको बल ॥ (शारदा नदी)

- (१६) शारदाले बगाइल्यायो, ऊवा जाँको नल ।
एक् त छोड्यो करमैले, नछोड् गङ्गा जल ? ॥ (शारदा नदी)
- (१७) सल्यानका जोली पिपल, शारदामा छाया ।
भागी हिँड्ने जुनकीरीले, किन लाउँछेस् ? माया ॥ (शारदा नदी)
- (१८) पथर स्याउला बगाइ ल्यायो, शारदा खोला ।
मत भन्छु माया लाउने, के भन्छौ तोलाले ॥ (शारदा नदी) इत्यादि ।

भेरी नदीसम्बन्धी लोकगीत

- (१) ठूली भेरी सानी भेरी, भेद भयो रिम्नैमा ।
गया जाला यो परानी, सूर्य फूल टिप्नैमा ॥
- (२) जोली डाँप्या मान्यौ म्वीले, भेरीको छालले ।
सबैको हलुँको भयौ, वैरागी चालाले ॥
- (३) तराइ-पाहाड मिलाको छ, भेरी यो उन्चल ।
जाजरकोट सुम्ज्याका वेला, मून हुन्छ चञ्चल ॥
- (४) दैलेख र जाजरकोट, भेरीका दुखारी ।
सुखैत बाँके बर्दियामा, थोक्के छन् सुकारी ॥
- (५) जाजरकोट बसेरो मात्तै, पानी छ भेरीको ।
सेता दाँत तिखो डाको, राइसुवा मेरीको ॥
- (६) तल भेरी माथि कोट, रुमाइलो शऽऽअर ।
जति बस्यो उति राम्रो, सेटिन्न रऽऽअड ॥ - डोल्पा जिल्लाको त्रिपुराकोट गा.वि.स.
ओडा नं. २ को कोट गाउँ र त्यसको तलतिर बग्ने भेरी नदी ।
- (७) बग्दै रऽऽ भेरीका पानी, पूर्व-पस्सिम् घूमी ।
ह्यूँऽऽचुलीले फलमल्ल, हाम्मो जन्म भूमि ॥
- (८) हुम्ला नजा जुम्ला नजा, भोटान भेरी जा ।
लायाको लाइपीमा मेरो, ढल्केर हेरी जा ॥
- (९) हाट नजा जुम्ला नजा, बतु तो भेरी जा ।
म्वीऽऽले पाल्याऽऽ रुझीसुवा !, फर्केर हेरी जा ॥
- (१०) जूला धारा छडकँदा, द्वी जुनी हड् धुनी ।
सहोऽऽ(सोँ)टै जा भेरीका पानी, सहऽऽ(स)म्जे हिँड् भर्दुनी ॥
- (११) म्वीऽऽना छन् क्वीऽऽन्याका छाल, भवीँसा छन् भेरीका ।
फाटो बोल्या (भाङ्गो) त्वैऽऽ गादल्ली, यी भवीँसा हेरीका ॥ इत्यादि ।

पश्चिमदेखि पूर्वसम्मका केही नदीसम्बन्धी लोकगीत

- (१) काली कुमाउँ चुम्पावती, अल्मोडा शऽऽअर ।
मेरो मात्तै माया छैन, माया छ हजार ॥ (महाकाली नदी)
- (२) काली कुमाउँ चुम्पावती, अल्मोडा शऽऽअर ।
मेरै बाडि फूल फुल्लैनन्, म्वीऽऽ मान्ने रऽऽअड ॥ (महाकाली नदी)
- (३) महाऽऽ(महा)काली उन्चल हाम्मो, ढुँडेलधुरा जिल्ला ।
अति राम्रो लाग्छ मलाई, अमरगडी किल्ला ॥ (महाकाली नदी)
- (४) सेती नदी चिसो पानी, बजाङ्गका भेग ।
ऐऽऽले बल्ला सुम्जना भो, देऊडाका हेग (हेक्का) ॥ (सेती नदी)
- (५) तीर्थ जान्या गुण्डकी जा, जल ल्याउन्या काशी जा ।
दिन् दिने चैऽऽ रुन्या, मून ?, एक् दिन् त हाँसी जा ॥ (गण्डकी नदी)
- (६) एति ठूलि कालीगुङ्गा, कैऽऽ भौजर छिरी ।
माया तेसे मन्या होकि?, भेद होलाकि फिरी ॥ काली (महाकाली वा कालीगण्डकी)

- (७) काली पारि टनकपुर, कुल्ली गयाकै छन् ।
मून् पापि रोयाको रोयैऽऽ, दुन्त हाँस्याकैछन् ॥ (महाकाली नदी)
- (८) चिलखायौनो अल्को गैऽऽ रो, धून्खायौनो पैऽऽ रो ॥
न तरेकी काली गुञ्जा, अल्की छकि गैऽऽरो ॥ काली (महाकाली वा कालीगण्डकी)
- (९) सेती नदी चिसो पानी, बजाइका पाखाले ।
अछमीको स्तुः (सु)भजना छ, चौडाका भाकाले । (सेती नदी)
- (१०) पानी तिर्खा लाग्यो मूऽऽन, फर्कि आइजा सेती ।
हली-बाउस्या खोजी गरी, न्यैऽऽत लाउँला सेती ॥ (सेती नदी)
- (११) सेती उन्चलमा पड्न्या, दुर्गमको किल्ला ।
अति विकट अति दुर्गम, बाजुराको जिल्ला ॥ (सेती नदी)
- (१२) लाग्छ मूऽऽन पानी तिर्खा, पर्कि आइजा सेती ? ।
बाली नाली क्या कसोछ, ह्वैऽऽ गरैला सेती ॥ (सेती नदी)
- (१३) सेतीका किनारमाई, लत्ता धुन्या बाली ।
चूक् जैथी चूकिल्ली रैऽऽछ, उँगार जैथी काली ॥ (सेती नदी)
- (१४) ह्वैऽऽद राम्डा ह्वैऽऽचूलीय, बर्खा राम्डी सेती ।
बालो ब्वैऽऽस खानु छैन, लाउँकि नलाउँ सेती ॥ (सेती नदी)
- (१५) सुदुर पस्सिमका उन्चल, सेति र म्हाः(महा)काली ।
कन्चनपुर तराइका फाँट, अति राम्डो बाली ॥ (सेती र महाकाली नदी)
- (१६) पूर्व बग्न्या मेची नदी, पस्सिम बग्न्या भेरी ।
सहोः(सौ)चि राख्या बालो जोवन, फर्कि आउँला फेरी ॥ (भेरी र मेची नदी)
- (१७) काली र कर्णाली तरै, भेरी क्वैऽऽ, तरैला ।
पैऽऽला हामी घरबार जोड्, मुलाकाज् गरैला ॥ (महाकाली र कर्णाली नदी)
- (१८) आपू बाइगै छोरी ल्हाः(लै)गै, गै गुञ्जा काली गै ।
एक् त नेल् दैबुले हाल्या, दोर्सा नेल् हाली गै ॥ (महाकाली वा कालीगण्डकी नदी)
- (१९) लेतो बग्यो कर्णालीको, भल् बग्यो सेतीको ।
बालो ल्याई चडाउँदो भयाँ, साइबाज्का सेतीको ॥ (कर्णाली र सेती नदी)
- (२०) मालिका तिर्वेणी जल, स्तुः(सु)किल्लो सहोः(सौ)लै छ ।
बूडी गुञ्जा मिल्या पछि, क्वैऽऽ अलि औलै छ । (सेती नदीमा बग्ने बूडी गञ्जा)
- (२१) कर्णालीको नारो हैऽऽकि ?, कालीको रौलो हैऽऽ ? ।
फटीकको मूर्ति हैऽऽकि ?, दशैको मौलो हैऽऽ ? ॥ (कर्णाली र महाकाली नदी)
- (२२) कालीद्वैऽऽ कर्णाली ठूलो, भर्दुनीका जल ।
यी दुख्ख को संग पोखुँ, परेवाका दल ? ॥ (महाकाली र कर्णाली नदी)
- (२३) हिन्डो मू सखीका लेख, डिट पड्यो गुण्डकी ।
मालिका माथकी माला, हिमवत् खुण्डकी ॥ (गण्डकी नदी)
- (२४) उँधो बग्न्या काली गुञ्जा, ऊबाका निरह ।
कि लाग्यो दैबुको माया, कि चल्दा बिरह ॥ (महाकाली वा कृष्णागण्डकी नदी)
- (२५) कोन्ट्या लाग् जाइडिका रुख, बर्दैऽऽला सेती ।
काँड मेरो पिरथी भया, भग् माददि ह्वैऽऽ तेती ? ॥ (सेती नदी)
- (२६) सेती अञ्चल बाजुरा हो, काबडीतोला गाउँ हो ।
बार्जु(बाजुरा) हुलाक् बारबीस, चुन्नभादुर नाउँ हो । (सेती नदी)
- (२७) पिजडौनो चरो खाउली, एक्दै मरौली ।
कत्तिको कसाइलो पड्यो, तिर्शुली तरौली ॥ (त्रिशूली नदी) इत्यादि ।

पश्चिम नेपालका जिल्लाको भौगोलिक परिचायक लोकगीत
कर्णाली अञ्चल

(क) जुम्ला जिल्ला

- (१) चीसो हावा ठुण्डा पानी, जुम्ला बजारको ।
मेरी मातै माया छेकि ? , माया हजारको ॥
- (२) जाँऽ जुम्ली जा ह्वीऽ हुम्सी जा, भोट्याका ज्वेऽ प्वेऽ जा ।
ज्यू नजा धून् पुनि नजा, मूनका जसो ह्वेऽ जा ॥
- (३) जुम्ला उड्या सुन्टालाका, छीरिबीन्या पोका ।
आमा मेरी चूला छैनन्, किन लाग्छे भोक ? ॥
- (४) जुम्ला पाक्या स्याउ-नासपाती, ल्याउन त पाइएन ।
सहः(स)बै ठाउँ(मा) मोटरबाटो, चाइयोकि चाइएन ? ॥
- (५) जुम्ला पाक्या दाग्-दाडीम, औल पाक्या केला ।
आया तोलौ ? राम् हेरैला, पैठमैका मेला ॥
- (६) जुम्ला जाँच्यो जुम्लीले, लेक् जाँच्यो बर्मले ।
कोली बसी रसल् खानु, दियोन कर्मले ॥
- (७) जुम्ला देखि देखिनै, दैलेखको गडी ।
तुला जोखूँ पाखा भरै, केऽखो माया बडी ? ॥
- (८) चुन्नथान्का चारै लिङ्गा, पूर्वतिर ढल्या (फर्केका) ।
अगीका उन्यारा कुना, ऐऽले बत्ति बल्या ॥
- (९) जुम्ला भोक्ति दाँत्या ओखड्, औल भोक्ति आरु ।
जग्गा रुखो मल् हाल्लुला, कर्म रुखो क्यारै ? ॥
- (१०) डाँडा सहः(स)ल्लो चौदबीस, खोला सहः(स)ल्ला अशी ।
शीतल खप्तैन मूऽन, चौतारामा बसी ॥
- (११) जुम्ला मान्यो कस्तुरीय, देश बिकायो बीना ।
पात् उड्डोछ बयालले, मून् उड्डोछ किन ? ॥
- (१२) जुम्ला बाग् पड्यो भुन्ना, मेरा लेखि चील ।
साइकालेखि मू क्या छु र ? , किन बस्यो दील ॥
- (१३) जुम्ला बाबाको भित्, औल मेरा हित ।
मून मेरो उडि बाइगो, माल्-परेवासित ॥
- (१४) जुम्ला बाग् पड्यो भुन्ना, घुघुतिको लेग्मा ।
कित भेटुँ जमुनामा, कि चडूला रेलमा ॥
- (१५) उँदो जान्या जुम्लीय, उबो आउन्या नून्या ।
न फेरी जोबन आउन्या, न मूनको हुन्या ॥
- (१६) जडामा सहः(स)ल्लाको सहाँः(साँ)गु, वीचमा धूप गरी ।
सहु(सु)नार् गाउँ मष्टाका थान, खेलिजाउँ खूब गरी ॥
- (१७) सहु(सु)नार् गाउँ मष्टाका थान, प्वीसा हाल बौला (धेरै) ।
छोताले मागयाको चीज, सहः(स)बै जना दिउला ॥
- (१८) सहु(सु)नार् गाउँका मूल धामी, हेराउँदा सहैः(सै) गरी ।
टाढाबाट हेड्न आउँछन्, सहः(स)बै मख्ख परी ॥
- (१९) पान्यूनी मैतालु आइन्, तेल्बैल्या केश गरी ।
सहु(सु)नार् गाउँ मष्टाका थान, खेलिजाउँ बेस गरी ॥
- (२०) गुडगुडी भयाम् भयामी गदा, सहु(सु)नार् गाउँका गजा ।
आइ-औसर छैट-पैठ, सहः(स)बै मान्छन् मजा ॥

- (२१) हुम्ला-जुम्ला मुगु-डोल्पो, कान्ठो कालीकोट ।
अस्पतालमा डाक्टर नाइ, किन लाग्छै चोट ? ॥
- (२२) चिल्गाडित कैऽले काई, जुम्ला इएपोर्ट ।
धैर्य गद्दा, जुनता छन, गाडी गुडन्या रोड ॥
- (२३) हुम्ला-जुम्ला पछ्यातै छन, ठूला स्याऊ पाइन्या ।
स्याऊको बजारै छैन, सडकै हो चाइन्या ॥
- (२४) निकी छौ क्या तिला नदी ?, कि डुब्थौ शोकमा ।
कैऽ पापीलाई नबसाल्या, पवित्र कोखमा ॥
- (२५) जुमला जुम्लीको छोरो, तेल पेल्लै पेल्लै ।
आइग्याँ नउला कोल, बयाल खेल्लै खेल्लै ॥
- (२६) पान् खानी स्हु(सु)पारी खानी, जुम्ला साइकि रानी ।
स्हु(सु)त्ता (ले) स्हु(सु)क्यो यो परानी, रुडा(ले) स्हु(सु)क्यो पानी ॥
- (२७) भोटको नून भोटै थुन्यो, जुम्लाका दानीले ।
एतिकै छुँ चाम्दया चुम्दया, साइका नून-पानीले ॥
- (२८) जु(ज)वा नदी तिला नदी, एकै छ स्हाः(सा)गर ।
सुन्सार हो स्हाः(स)ब्को स्हाः(सा)जो, सबैको भागर ॥
- (२९) पाटन् भरी जडी-बुटी, पिठ्युँ भरी कुम्ला ।
चीसो पानी कडा हावा, कठ्ठै ? हाम्मा जुम्ला ॥
- (३०) मज्दूरका माननीय, एमालेका नेता ।
कैऽले त मालेका नेता, एता जाउँकि उता ? ॥
- (३१) जुमलीको माल् भेडीले नून लाग्यो चाटन ।
किन आउँछै बाँजा ह्युँऽद, सुड लाग्यो फाटन ॥
- (३२) सुन् साइली छुम्काउन लाग्यो, जुमलीको जाइया ।
स्हाः(स)द्दे माया लाउन्या भया, छयौति आइजा लाइया ? ॥
- (३३) जुमला बाबाका मीत, औल मेरा हित ।
कैखो पिमा ऐऽले आयो, किला-दावला सित ॥
- (३४) जुम्लाको चौकोटाबाडा, तिला नदी घाडी ।
रन्नाकर (रत्नाकर) चौकोटाको, गीतै गीतको भारी । इत्यादि ।

हुम्ला जिल्लासम्बन्धी

- (१) हुम्ला-जुम्ला मुगु-डोल्पो, उँदै कालीकोट ।
फल जति नेताले खाया, रीत्तो भयो बोट ॥
- (२) हुम्ला-जुम्ला स्याउ फल्छाछन्, बागबानी फाराम ।
फल खाया जियान्लाई भेल्लो, अफीनको क्या काम ? ॥
- (३) हुम्ला माइयाँ जुम्ला माइयाँ, बाजुरा(बाजुरा) पुनि माइयाँ ।
नानाकन क्यापो डाँडुन, ठूला ठूला डाँड्या ॥
- (४) हुम्ला नजा जुम्ला नजा, भोटान भेरी जा ।
लायाको लाइपीमा मेरो ढल्केर हेरी जा ॥
- (५) हुम्ला जिल्ला हिँडी हिँडी, मानसरोऽर जानुछ ।
कै ठाउँमा जुम्मेका हामी, काँऽ (कहाँ) गई मन्नु छ ॥
- (६) चाला नजा फूचा नजा, साका लाग्ना ह्युँऽ छ ।
बतु मू आलुवा खाँला, एग्लो साईको ज्यू छ ॥
- (७) तलि फूचा माथि राइया, पर फटहाल्ना ।
गोरखाली आयापछि, फूचा गाउँले पाल्ना ॥

- (८) वखा यारी ठाडो दुङ्गा, ह्यूँऽद अछाम् सहीः(सो)प्या ।
जाँऽ(जहाँ)जान्छै सड्सडै, लैः(लै)जा, ह्यूँऽचूलीका डाँफ्या ? ॥
- (९) मू कैऽले बिस्न्या छैन, त्यो गाऊँ लालीलाई ।
हामी सहः(स)वै मीलि वसूँ, आ-आम्ना पालीलाई ॥
- (१०) ह्यूँऽचूलीका डाँफ्या उडी, वस्या मारुगोर ।
पैऽला पाउ टेक्याको छूँ, निको आवै स्वर ? ॥
- (११) याल्वाडको तीतो फापर, गाईले खाया खाला ।
लागदो पिथ्थी क्वैऽ छोइन्त्या नाई, गर्दन् गया जाला ॥
- (१२) जाँऽ भूनी सरोवर गयाँ, बिस्न्या र फ्वैऽ (फोई) गयाँ ।
सीमकोट पुग्याका वेला, धुक्क ज्वैऽ(रोई) गयाँ ॥
- (१३) छकाल खायाका जाग्ना, चुफिदुङ्गा मुनि ।
क्यान रुन्छै मून् पापीय ?, क्या पुग्योन भुनि ॥
- (१४) भोट ओरी भोट पोरी, ह्वीऽ पोरयूनो गाउँ नाई ।
एता आया गोरखाली(गोर्खाली), सीमकोटीऽन ठाउँ नाई ॥
- (१५) हुम्ली आया जुम्ली आया, ह्यूँऽ फल्या लामाले ।
देबु भेट्न पाइनो छ क्या?, अस्थाः(सा)इया कामले ॥ इत्यादि ।

(ग) मुगु जिन्लासम्बन्धी

- (१) मुगुमै छ रारा ताल, जुम्ला टुडिँखेल ।
काम पाया मातै(मात्रै) जान्छन्, हुम्ला मान्छन् नेल ॥
- (२) मुगुखोलो हिडीहिडी, गुम् (गम) खोलो उकालो ।
निको छ क्या आलो-वालो, गाथ् छ क्या स्हु(सु)कालो ? ॥
- (३) साठी गाई लुटेर लैः(लै)गो, मुगु करानीले ।
कोसंग क्यालाग्न्या छ र, एग्ला परानीले ॥
- (४) सहीः(सो)रु खोलो हिडीहिडी, गुम् (गम) खोलो उकालो ।
निको छ क्या आलो-वालो, गाथ् छ क्या स्हु(सु)कालो ? ॥
- (५) रारा ताल् अचम्मै ठूलो, ज्यादै र ऽऽछ गैऽरो (गहीरो) ।
को वैरी देखन्त्या होला, मून् भित्तको पैऽरो (पहीरो) ॥
- (६) रारा गयाँ छप्प गयाँ, मिलीवाटै आयाँ ।
मिलीवाट आउँदा खेरी, पुस्तो(सो) डाफ्याँ पायाँ ॥
पुस्तो(सो) डाफ्याँ पाउँदाखेरी, साइ(वाज)का चारा लायाँ ॥ (लोकोक्ति)
- (७) रारा दह टल्ल पल्ल, पेउ पानि निजार ।
हीरा होकि मोति होकि, आपैले बिचार ॥
- (८) पूर्व घुमी पस्सिम् जान्छ, रारा ताल्को पानी ।
दुखी भै बाँचनु क्याभो, यौथो जीवन् धानी ॥
- (९) एक त अल्को रारा ताल, ताईदै अल्को मुगु ।
हात् पुग्दैन टाँगी छैन, मू कसरी पुगु ॥
- (१०) फेवाताल भून्यो त पुनि, ताल् ठूलो छ रारा ।
स्थाः(सा)त्या (साथी) छुन्कि एग्लै घुम्छै, बिरस्पति (बृहस्पति) तारा ? ॥
- (११) राजा आउँदा नाउँ राखियो महेन्द्र (महेन्द्र) ताल ।
तुमी हामी भेट गर्हला, आउँदा नुयाँ (नयाँ) साल ॥
- (१२) चुड्खेली(चंडखेली) भून्यो त पुनि, घाम्लाग्न्या नारै (नारालाग्ना) हो ।
तहल्का मच्चिदाँ स्हु(सु)म्म, दैको मून् स्थाः(सा)रै हो ॥
- (१३) घुच्चीको उकालो नहोस्, डाफ्याँको लेक नहोस् ।
भित्तोनो घुमोनो माया, वाइरोनो देग् नहोस् ॥

- (१४) घुच्चीका रुमाइला लेख, चारै सल्ली बेल ।
छकाल भुल्क्याका घाम, पडिगया नेल ॥
- (१५) ध्वीन्यालको क्या जुनी हो, घर घर लडा ।
जैशीमठ (भारत) जुवा खेला, घर फाल्दा गडा ॥
- १६) शेरीज्यूला धान् पाकतैनन्, चुइखेली छायाले ।
मौरी घुम्दो केशरलाइ, मू घुम्दो मायाले ॥
- (१७) भित्त(भित्र) मुगु ताउलाखार, भारी ढल्यो ऊनको ।
जति गीद (गीत) लेख्या पुनि, हुन्या नाई मूनको ॥ इत्यादि ।

(घ) कालीकोट जिल्लासम्बन्धी

- (१) कालीको तपस्या गन्या, मेरा कालीकोट ।
सुहः(सु) म्जुन्छु पुर्खाको काम, मर्म लाग्छन् चोट ॥
- (२) जिल्ला राम्ढो कालीकोट, गाँउ राम्ढो पिलीको ।
लाजले घर खानु पड्यो, जोडा न मिल्योको ॥
- (३) खाँडाचर (खाँडाचक्र) दर्वार लाउन्या, राजा मलै बुम्म (मलय बर्मा) ।
अचेलका दरा-खोला, किन छौ निसम्म ॥
- (४) सिकू उनै सान्नी उनै, बँदालकोट उनै छ ।
साल् वितैछ म्वीऽऽना (महिना) वित्या, मून् मेरो रुनै छ ॥
- (५) सिकू द्यैऽऽ गाइयाको कुलो, सान्नी पिन्यायाको ।
दै मेरी ह्वैऽऽजान्या भया, क्या छ बिरियाको ॥
- (६) काली पोइल कालीकोट, बीजु पोइल रोल ।
भाम् खायाका दूद्या गाली, खाल् खेल्याका कोल ॥
- (७) मान्म उनै रास्कोट उनै, बँदालकोट उनै छ ।
म्वीऽऽना (महिना) वित्या साल् वितैछ, मून् मेरो रुनै छ ॥
- (८) ताडी-मान्म बँदालकोट, मालुको रोल भरी ।
आज्काली तोला सुन् मेरी, कैखा (कस्का) छौ कोल् (काख) भरी ? ॥
- (९) मान्म राम्ढो पुन्यदयौल, दुल्लु राम्ढो खुम्म (स्तम्भ) ।
चिटिकको भर् मान्मैन, मुख् नदेख्या सुम्म ॥
- (१०) भीटाकी कोटिला पोइल, कोटिलाकी भीटा ।
आज् काँऽऽ दैऽऽ भडी र पडी, सुन्-चाँदीका छीटा ॥
- (११) कि तेरा पिपल बाइजाउँ, कि मेरा बड जाउँ ।
कि दुबै घरवारी होइजाउँ, कि दुबै खड (खेर) जाउँ ? ॥
- (१२) पुइका पाटनमूलो, पुन्चाल् छहडीको ।
घर जोई नाई बून् कोइ (कोही) नाई, बाँजा रहडीको ॥
- (१३) हेर्प त भ्वीसीको टाँडो, नेटा र खीन् सम्म ।
(पछिल्लो पंक्तिको खोजी हुदैछ ।)
- (१४) जिल्ला राम्ढो कालीकोट, गाँउ राम्ढो गेलाको ।
जाति माया लाग्दो रऽऽछ (रहेछ) छुट्टिन्या वेलाको ॥ इत्यादि ।

(ङ) डोन्या जिल्लासम्बन्धी

- (१) ताल राम्ढो फोक्सुण्डो हो, गाउं राम्ढो कोटको ।
रात् - दिनै सुहः(सु) म्जना हुन्छ, तुम्मा लाल् ओठको ॥
- (२) जडेनी ताराकी राम्डी, जाइ राम्ढो छोयाको ।
देगन्या छौ क्या घरबारीयो ?, मू दुःखी रोयाको ॥

- (३) भोटान बिजौरी थला, चल्या (बाज) लाग्यो रिङ्गन ।
यो पापी जुनकिडीमाति, माया लाग्यो बिग्न ॥
- (४) मौ-या लेख पोरिबाट धूम लाग्ना ओरिबाट ,
चूं ऽऽरीकोटको गाऊं छ, भर्भ-या तर्त-या ।
मूसी राउट्या घोडा चडी हुरीकोट-काइगाऊं आउंछ,
यी कुडा भयानन् भून्या टसी (जिम्मुवाल) नेपाल आउंछ ॥ इत्यादि ।

भेरी अञ्चल

(क) जाजरकोट जिल्ला

- (१) जाजरकोट खलंगा दरबार, पूर्व भ्याल् काट्याको ।
घरखानु अष्टयारो हुनो, माइत ख्याल काट्याको ॥
- (२) जाजरकोट पटांगी (नी) माथि, राजैको धून्सार ।
कि साइले कोलीमा लैऽऽ(लै)जाउ, कि माया नमार ॥
- (३) जिल्ला राम्ढो जाजरकोट, गाउँ राम्ढो, जिरिको ।
आशा रेऽऽजा बाँचुन्ज्याल्को, भेट् ह्वैऽऽजा पछिको ॥
- (४) जाजरकोट बसेरो मेरो, पानी छ भेरीको ।
सेता दुन्त तीखो डाको, राइसुवा मेरफो ॥
- (५) जाजरकोट नाउ मातै हो, गाउँ राम्ढो छ दल्ली ।
मुऽऽन(मलाई) छोडी उडि बाइगै, काँऽ बस्दीहो चल्ली ? ॥
- (६) बाच्याकोट अँदयारी खोला, देखिनै न जिरि ।
बाँचुन्ज्याल्का मोलाकाज, भेट् हुन्या नै फेरी ॥
- (७) राम्ढे छ खलङ्गा अड्डा, बिजुली बल्याको ।
क्या ओक्ताले भलो गर्ला, हिर्दया जल्याको ॥
- (८) नः(नह)कुली कस्तूरि, माच्या, जाकोटी राजैले ।
चित्तले नखाया पुनि, घर खाउ लाजैले ॥
- (९) हटीका उकाला लाग्या, जाकोटीका तोडा ।
जुन्म ल्यायाँ कली जुगको, स्हा(सा)मल् ल्यायाँ थोडा ॥
- (१०) ऐऽऽले हाम्रा जाजरकोटमा, बिजुलिको सिर्को(प्रकाश) ।
मट्टितेल बाल्या दैलेख, बादै हुन्छ चिको (चट्याड) ॥
- (११) कुमाखमा चन्न आया, जाकोटीका पशु ।
ऊनाडी घरवार जोडी, खान पाइन रसु(रसल) ॥
- (१२) कुमाखको अग्लो लेख, धसक्क धस्कि जा ।
कि फूल ? पैरनु ह्वैऽऽजा, कि फूल मस्किजा ॥
- (१३) कुमाखका ठूला मेला, प्वीऽऽसा लैजाउ भेटी ।
आइजा काल लैजा मलाई, एति साइनो मेटी ॥ इत्यादि ।

(ख) दैलेख जिल्लासम्बन्धी

- (१) बून्याऽऽछ बुनाउनु क्या छ, दैलेखको गडी ।
आम्नै देश रुमाइलो हुनो, धै क्या म्वीना(मैना) चडी ? ॥
- (२) गोर्खालीय, दैलेखिय, दोसाँदेमा किल्ला ।
बैरागीको मून् बुजाउने, व्वैऽऽनै राज्य-जिल्ला ॥
- (३) कला गेडी असिनाय, दैलेखमा पड्यो ।
पुरानु पीरति मेरो, छकि माया मन्थो ? ॥
- (४) को जाला कटटीका लेख, दुलाल भाका गाउन्या ।
कैऽऽले होला नेपालीका, सुदिन् फकि आउन्या ॥

- (५) दुल्लु(मा) पाइना माऊ धेरै, दैलेख पहरी (कुखुरा) ।
देश भयो औलो-बौलो, हटाउन्थ्यो कस्तुरी ? ॥
- (६) दुल्लुदयैऽ देखिनो पारी, दैलेखको गडी ।
हिमाली डाँफ्याका जुन, खिल्कु म्वीना चडी ? ॥
- (७) दैलेखदयैऽ स्हाँ(सौं)टै आयौं, धेरै बस्या दुल्लु ।
पैताला मिलाई आइजा, बद्रमास उल्लु ? ॥
- (८) दुल्लु-दैलेख आठबीस, गाउँ ठूलो तुल्लाको ।
राम् राम् गद्दै दर्शुन् पायौं, गादिका पुल्लाको ॥
- (९) भूर्ति राम्ढो पुञ्च देओल, दैलेख राम्ढो गडी ।
दैलेख राम्ढो कीर्तिखुम्मा(कीर्तिस्तम्भ), एक भुन्ना एक बढी ॥ इत्यादि ।

(ग) सुर्खेत जिल्लासम्बन्धी

- (१) स्हु(सु)र्खेतकी लाटीक्वैऽली, नेपाल पशूपति ।
मून लाग्दा पीरतिका, छाडलो पड्या गति ॥
- (२) स्हु(सु)र्खेत मसुरी खाई, रण्पुल्या गाइले ।
मू माया माददैन(मादेन) भुन्डो, माया मान्यौ साइले ॥
- (३) स्हु(सु)र्खेत भो ठूलो दह, मसुरीको दाई छ ।
घरबार जोड्या जुन्जाल हुन्छ, पीमा भया हुन्छ ॥
- (४) औलो लाग्यो स्हु(सु)र्खेतको, स्ह(स)रौटो भाडीको ।
क्या बसालु रखवाली, मेरा फुल्बाडीको ॥ इत्यादि ।

(घ) बर्दिया जिल्लासम्बन्धी

- (१) राजापुर सत्यगुँडी, तस्बीर टाँस्याकै छन् ।
मून् मेरो स्हाँ(सा)उनका रात, दुन्त हाँस्याकै छन् ॥
- (२) राजापुर रुमाइलो हुनो, तोडि फूलला र ! ।
राइसुवा मुखैति आउनी, स्हु(सु)त्ता चलला र ! ॥
- (३) बबईले बगाइल्यायो, औलि जूँऽका नल ।
मीठो फल खान्या भया, दैबुलाई नछल ॥
- (४) फाट्टफुट्ट बगाइ ल्यायो, नदी यो बबैले ।
बर्दियाको ठाकुरद्वारा, नबिसुँ कसैले ॥ इत्यादि ।

(ङ) बाँके जिल्लासम्बन्धी

- (१) नेपालगुञ्ज बजारैमा, नून् भाऊ दून्यायो ।
रुड्डी मेरो मालपरेवा, को बैरी गुन्यायो ? ॥
- (२) नेपालगुञ्ज बजारैमा, नून् भाऊ स्हः (स) स्तोछ ।
मुख हेददा भरस्याइलो, हिर्दय कस्तो छ ? ॥
- (३) नेपालगुञ्ज खरा धूप, वैऽलाइ बारयो काग ।
ह्युँऽद लाग्या तल भड, बर्खा माथि लाग ॥
- (४) नेपालगुञ्ज फिलीमिली, बत्ती बलनान् र ।
रुङ्गी मून् बिरुङ्गी हुनो, स्हु(सु)त्ता चलनान् र ! ॥
- (५) नेपालगुञ्ज बस्यारो छ, किन्मेल रुपैढीक् ।
आम्ने देश रुमाइलो हुनो, बिदेश नबीक ॥ इत्यादि ।

सेती अञ्चल

(क) बाजुरा जिल्ला सम्बन्धी

- (१) बाजुरा लाम्पाटा घर, लाल् हीरा किर्सना ।
बसीजाउ रुप्याका कोल, फालिजाउ तिसना ॥

- (२) गोती लेख पाँडुरैन, कोल्टिका बजार ।
सयले उड्डैन जहाज्, चाइन्छ हजार ॥
- (३) सेति उन्चलमा पड्नुया, दुर्गमको किल्ला ।
ज्यादै नै विकट भयो, यो बाजुरा जिल्ला ॥
- (४) बाजुरा चुल्ह्याका थला, बाज् पाड्यो नाइकले ।
क्या मेरा टीठले आयौ ?, आम्ना त चाइकले ॥
- (५) कुल् पूज्य ज्यूलेखि मष्टा, दाईना होईजाउन् ।
दुःखारि बाजुराकन, अगि लगाउन ॥ (हिमाली लोकसाहित्य-२०२१ बाट)
- (६) सत्र सय बाजुराका, चौसट्टि मुखिया ।
तै पुनि क्या भूनी भयो, यैऽऽ देश दुःखिया ॥
- (७) ज्वैऽऽ पडि शीतलादेवी, प्वैऽऽ पड्यो दादुरा ।
बल्ल्याले नछोडने भयो, यैऽऽ बाँजा बाजुरा ॥ इत्यादि ।

(ख) अछाम जिल्लासम्बन्धी

- (१) पैऽऽलो भेट अछाममा, दोस्रो अमरगडी ।
अछामका खेल खेलाडी, अती रऽऽ छन् रऽऽडी ॥
- (२) कान्ठोभाई मुङ्गलसेन् गयो, कैऽऽले नगयाको ।
लाइनैन हीराको माला, कर्म नभयाको ॥
- (३) धुन्डाडी दीपाइल सहाँ (साँ) प्या, ताँऽऽबाट अछाम ।
द्यूँडा खेल चुम्क्यापछि, खूब हेहदाछन् राम ॥
- (४) दर्नाकोट लागिगो बतास्, दर्नाकोट दर्नैछ ।
एक् चोटि हजुरका कोल, मूलकाज् गन्नैछ ॥
- (५) रातामाटा (ले) घर लिप्याको, दर्नाका कोटको ।
यैथो माया क्याको लाग्यो, सुन्तला बोटको ॥
- (६) लड्की हेन्नु बयाल्पाटा, फर्कि हेन्नु सहाँ(साँ) प्या ।
तो क्या जाडो मान्नेनस्क्या, ह्यूऽऽचूलिका डाँफ्या ? ॥
- (७) सहाँ(साँ)प्या तलि बै(ज)नाथ् माथि, हिँड् कली? तीप् हालुँ ।
काट्याऽऽ च्वैऽऽटा मिलनान् कि, तो बडी शीपालु ॥
- (८) अछाम तीन खुट्या चाँवल, भोट नून दून्या ।
ह्यूऽऽद अछाम् बर्खा भोट, नगरी नहुन्त्या ॥ इत्यादि ।

(ग) बझाङ्ग जिल्लासम्बन्धी

- (१) बजाङ्ग राजा भात् खानैनन्, काँसाथाल फुट्यादैऽऽ ।
मेरा आइमा घाम् लाग्दैनन्, पीरति छुट्याचै ऽऽ ।
- (२) कैऽऽले घर आउन्त्या हुन्नान्, च्वीन्पुर गयाका ।
को ठौर बस्याका हुन्नान्, तिसना भयाका ॥
- (३) बजाङ्गको शोबा बडी, सुर्मा(सरोवर) को तालैमा ।
जो फूल टिप्छु र्हुः(सु)कीजान्छ, नहुन्त्या पालैमा ॥
- (४) सल्ला निका सल्यानय, बाज् राम्डा सीमका ।
द्यूँडा राम्डा बजाङ्गका, घर राम्डा सीमका ॥
- (५) घाम् लाग्या मार्तडीतिर, तारा लाग्या शेरी ।
बाज्का दुख् मेटिन्या हुन् क्या?, मेरा दुख्छ हेरी ॥ इत्यादि ।

(घ) डोटी जिल्लासम्बन्धी

- (१) डोटि राम्ढो डँडेलधुरा, अछाम् राम्ढो स्हाँ : (साँ) प्या ।
गाड माछ थला बाज, लेख लेख डाँप्या ॥
- (२) डोटि राम्ढो डँडेलधुरा, अछाम् राम्ढो स्हाँ : (साँ) प्या ।
मान्ठ राम्ढो मून मित्याको, पुङ्गी राम्ढो डाँप्या ॥
- (३) डोटि राम्ढो शिल्गडीय, अछाम् राम्ढो स्हाँ : (साँ) प्या ।
मलाइ पुनि उडाइ लै: (लै)जा, ह्यौऽऽचूलीका डाँप्या ॥
- (४) डोटि राम्ढो डँडेलधुरा, अछाम् राम्ढो स्हाँ : (साँ) प्या ।
मलाइ पुनि उडाइ लै: (लै)जा, ह्यौऽऽचूलीका डाँप्या ॥
- (५) मू माथि शिल्गडि थियाँ, तल बस् चलीगो ।
बाटो हेदै आँसु प्वीऽतै, हाडमाड्स गलीगो ॥
- (६) सुदूर पस्सिमको मुकाम, डोटि हो यो जिल्ला ।
पुरानै समयदेखि, पर्शासनको किल्ला ॥
- (७) क्या कामले डोटि गयो, ताँई किन बिलायो ? ।
ज्वैऽछोरीऽन बिसिकन, त्यसै क्या सेलायो ॥
- (८) पैऽलो सलाम् खप्तडलाई, दोस्रो त डोटिलाई ।
डोटि राज्य कऽलियाको, पस्सिमका किल्लालाई ॥
- (९) नेपालका पस्सिम जिल्ला, डोटी र बैतडी ।
अरु ठाउँमा विकाश छैन, यी जिल्लाका सरी ॥
- (१०) शिल्गडी लालाकि ब्वाऽरी, बम्बैका तालकी ।
जोवन् स्हाँ: (साँ)ची जौमालकि, ज्यू स्हाँ: (साँ)ची कालकी ॥
- (११) नभुनू भुक्भुकि लाग्दो, भुनू त हुल् हुँदो ।
शिल्गडिकी पातरका, सुनको फूल हुँदो ।
- (१२) लेखदैऽ निगाला ल्यार्या, औल चियाँ बाता(?) ।
तो मात्तै शिल्गडि, गैऽछे, तेरो मात्तै छाता ? ॥
- (१३) शिल्गडिका गोदाम्याकी, फुलौटि उकालो ।
स्हो: (सो)दा पूछी क्यैऽ भयोन, गात् छक्या स्हु: (सु)कालो ? ॥
- (१४) शिल्गडि सिलङ्गी फूल्यो, लुङ्गा बाइगो बास ।
धुन्य हुन् हिमालिमाता, रतनको दास ॥ इत्यादि ।

(ङ) कैलाली जिल्लासम्बन्धी

- (१) कैलाडिमा हिँडीहिँडी, कर्णालि तन्नैछ ।
एक् चोटि हजूरका कोल, मूलकाज् गन्नैछ ॥
- (२) जामू ताँइछ क्वीन्या ताँइछ, माछमारि खान्या ।
कर्णालीको पूलतरेर, धुनगडी हो जान्या ॥
- (३) भोली तुमी ठिक्क भया, राजापुरका स्हा: (सा)इत ।
अत्तरिया (मा) बसिराख्या, छोडीदिया माइत ॥
- (४) अत्तरिया जान्या वेला, बीच पड्यो भासु ।
हाँस्याऽ खेत्याऽ स्हुँ: (स) म्जुदामा, आँखाबाट आँसु ॥
- (५) कालो बाद्या स्हु: (सु)क्या ल्हु: (लु)काल, कैलाडि गयाको ।
बाजको रुपोस्या मुहाड्, न्यैऽबाट भयाको ॥ इत्यादि ।

महाकाली अञ्चल

(क) बैतडी जिल्लासम्बन्धी

- (१) बैतडिका बाबु साएप, दार्चुलाकि परी ।
तेरालागि मूछु भुन्या, क्वैऽनाई कठैबरी? ॥
- (२) डँडेलधुर-बैतडि जाँच्या, अछाम् जाँचियोन ।
धून् स्हाँ. (साँ)चियो, मून् स्हाँ. (सा)चियो, जोवन् स्हाँ. (साँ)चियोन ॥
- (३) राजनीतिमा अगाडिछ, बै(त)डी-डँडेलधुरा ।
यहाँका शीपालु नेता, देशकै हुन् सुरा ॥ •

(ख) डँडेलधुरा जिल्लासम्बन्धी

- (१) डोटि राम्ढो डँडेलधुरा, अछाम् राम्ढो स्हाँ. (साँ) प्या ।
मान्ठ राम्ढो मून् मिल्याको, पुइखी राम्ढो डाँफ्या ॥
- (२) डोटि हैन डँडेलधुरा, पिमी हैन नौरा ।
फेरि भेटू कैऽले होला, भीर फाट्याका मौरा? ॥
- (३) डोटि उनै डँडेलधुरा, कुन्चनपुर उनैछ ।
घर छोडि पदेशी भयाँ, मून् मेरो रुनैछ ।
- (४) ह्माः (महा)कालि उन्चल हाम्मो, डँडेलधुरा जिल्ला ।
ज्यादै राम्ढो लाग्छ मलाई, अमरगडि किल्ला ॥ इत्यादि ।

(ग) दार्चुला जिल्लासम्बन्धी

- (१) दार्चुला कस्तुरी नाइतो, ह्यूँऽपानि प्यूँऽभूनी ।
तेरानिमित्त ज्यू भूरियो, परानि द्यूँऽ भूनी ॥
- (२) दछिन् भारत उत्तर चीन, दार्चुला हो जिल्ला ।
विकाशमा पछाडि हजूर?, मिला कि नमिल्ला ॥
- (३) नाऽऽनु जिल्ला दार्चुलामा, थकालि बस्याका ।
गलैचाको उद्योग् गन्न, कुम्भर कस्याका ॥
- (४) दार्चुलाका दार स्हाँ. (साँ)इला, तल्लिदेका ताला ।
घर्बाँ स्हुँ. (सु)म्जेर होकि?, रात् भुन्ना दिन् काला ॥ इत्यादि ।

(घ) कन्चनपुर जिल्लासम्बन्धी

- (१) सुदूर पस्सिमका उन्चल, सेति र म्हाः (महा)काली ।
कन्चनपुर तराइका फाँट, अति राम्ढो बाली ॥
- (२) टनकपुर-कालापानी, कन्चनपुरमा पड्या ।
राष्ट्रिय विवाद भयो, समाधान गन्या ॥
- (३) चौदनि-दोधारा अनि, महेन्द्र (महेन्द्रनगर) बजार ।
पड्या-लेछ्या जान्या-सुन्या, छुन् यहाँ हजार ॥
- (४) खूब् राम्ढो महेन्द्रनगर, त्यैऽथै राम्ढो डोटी ।
जोवन् मेरो घुम्दै गयो, कर्म मेरो खोटी ॥

राप्ती अञ्चल

(क) दाङ्ग जिल्लासम्बन्धी

- (१) दाङ्को थाडु अति जान्या, मैऽ माग्या दैऽ दिन्या ।
क्वैऽछैन मायाको भोगी, पीमामा ज्यू दिन्या ॥
- (२) कैऽले हाति लाल्फाँडीमा, कैऽले हाति दाङ्मा ।
बादल् फाटी घाम लागिजा, वैरागीका आङ्मा ॥

- (३) छड्क्या भूलो गुन्यू-चोलो, दाङ्कूलिमा स्वाउन्त्या ।
किन आउँछ चाडबाड, वैरागिलाङ्ग स्वाउन्त्या ॥
- (४) घाडी काँदा लेक् पड्याको, दाङ्का छचौमा बबै ।
जोवन् मेरो जान्या भयो, मून्को भुन्या नभै ॥
- (५) भूँसाँले दमारे काट्यो, गुवालो बबैछ ।
किन रुन्छै दुखी मून्, मूजैथो सहः (स)बैछ ॥
- (६) दाङ्को घाडी दमारेमा, लुम्कि हिँड्छ श्याल ।
मू गर्छु सहः (स)दरी कुडा, साइत मान्छे श्याल ॥
- (७) क्या ल्यायौ बेपारि दाङ्गू ?, बदमैका कुम्ला ।
दाङ्(मा)बस्या औलो लाग्छ, गैजाउँ माथि जुम्ला ॥
- (८) पहाड् राम्ढो फलावाड, दाङ् राम्ढो पोटली ।
ह्यैऽदले लखेटी ल्यायो, ल्या बर्खा बोटली ॥
- (९) दाङ्का मूसिना चाँवल, खायो घुन्कीडीले ।
को देश सहः(स)सीलो गन्यौ, घरका पदशीले ॥
- (१०) दाङ्को बबै सरोवर, तन्न सहः(स)किदैन् ।
विपति पडीगो भूनी, भन्न सहः(स)किदैन् ॥
- (११) सहोः(सो)त्तरस्याउलो बगाईल्यायो, पसेनी खोलासे ।
क्या चाइएला भूऽन भूनी, हेज् मान्यौ तोलाले ॥
- (१२) भूँसाँको खीर खाँला भूनी, पात् टिप्याँ बबैको ।
दिल् बस्याको योटे हुन्छ, मून् बुजाउ सहः (स)बैको ॥
- (१३) पहाड् राम्ढो फलावाड, दाङ् राम्ढो बेलघारी ।
लड्क्या जोवन् जान लाग्यो, नगर् साइ हेलारी ॥
- (१४) चौदसय दाङ्मा डुली, दाङ् राम्ढो हेकुली ।
एकत स्वाउन्त्या रुप्या मुहाड्, भुन स्वाउन्त्या टिकुली ॥
- (१५) दाङ्को घाडी दुमारैमा, पट् बर्सन्छ शीत ।
बसी माया मेटिनैन, नेटो काट्टै कित ? ॥
- (१६) माथि पड्यो क्वीन्यापानी, तल बबै खोली ।
गाउँल्या बैरी कुडा काट्छन्, हिँड गैजाउँ भोलि ॥
- (१७) तुल्सीपुरमा अन्चल् अफिस, दोघरेमा मील ।
साइका लेखि मू क्याछु र ?, केमा बस्यो दिल ॥
- (१८) दाङ् बैऽन्या थारु दाइले, बाँस् कटायो धनी ।
रिड्दै घुम्दै आइत गयाँ, माया लाउँला भूनी ॥
- (१९) स्याउलो-सोत्तर बगाइ ल्यायो, दाङ्का बबैले ।
बैरागी त गीत(त) गाउँछ, सुन् दिन् सहः (स)बैले ॥
- (२०) दाङ् ह्वैऽन द्यौखुरीमा, मसूरी मल्मल ।
जान्या बाटो सिकाइ द्यौ न, मू पड्याँ अल्मल ॥
- (२१) गाङ्-भ्वीसीऽन पाल्नु राम्ढो, दाङ्को द्यौखुरी ।
माया लाउँदा क्यैऽपुनैन, रैऽजान्छ आँखुरी ॥
- (२२) पसेनीमा झिलीमिली, आइपुरयो छ भोट्या ।
क्यैऽजानैन तुम्मो माया, हत्केलामा घोट्या ॥
- (२३) चारै कुना चौतारिमा, बारकुन्या दह ।
सोची ल्याउँदा सहः(स)म्जी ल्याउँदा, भरी आउँछ गह ।
- (२४) यौटा घोडल् द्रीटा चित्तल्, तल बबै तन्या ।
एक् विपति छँदैथियो, भुन् विपति पड्या ॥

- (२५) पुस-मागको बाक्लो ढुरी, दाङ्-बबै कछर ।
रसीमाया बसी लाउँला, नगर साइ हतार ।
- (२६) दाडैका मूसिना चाँवल, पाखापानी भात ।
कैखी छोरी कैखी सहे: (सै)नी, क्याहो दैको जात ? ॥
- (२७) सल्यान् राम्ढो फलावाड, दाङ् राम्ढो टिकरी ।
लड्क्या जोवन् जान लाग्यो, नगर साई ? हेलारी ॥
- (२८) धान् बताउन्त्या गैरी खलो, बयालो दाडको ।
एक चुड्कि मामकी दीहाल, सुनौला आङ्को ॥
- (२९) बरमासमा बरको डाली, तिलक्यानामा गडी ।
छोडि जाउँत एति राम्डी, लै..(ले)जाउँ भून्या चरी ॥
- (३०) काँधेमा बन्दूक हाली, काँऽजान्छे धर्नाली ? ।
आउँदा-जाँदा पानी प्यूला, नसुक्दै कर्णाली ? ॥
- (३१) रीटक्वीरी बासन लाग्यो, दाङ्को घाडी बबै ।
गैगो बाँजा जोवनय, मून्को भून्या नभै ॥ इत्यादि ।

(ख) सल्यान जिल्लासम्बन्धी

- (१) सल्यानका कल्यान्धारा, द्वी ब्बीऽनि पानी जाउ ।
लेख्याऽकागत् फाटी जान्छ, च्यूडी छप् हानी जाउ ॥
- (२) सल्यानी चाखुडो खेल्लो, प्यूठानीका बून ।
रोएर राज पाइला होक्या, नरो नगी मून ? ॥
- (३) सल्यानी बाउन्को छोरो, काँदैमा जुनैछ ।
आलो माया मू लाउदैन्, पुरानु छुनैछ ॥
- (४) सल्यानका सालघारीमा, पात् खोज्या पाइन्न ।
लाइद्यू साइ हाँसी माया, जात् खोज्या पाइन्न ॥
- (५) खैरावाङ्का माइका थान, तीने हाऽन्या मौलो ।
भात् खानु पुराना धान्को, माया लाउनु नौलो ॥
- (६) बजाउन्त्या बाँसुल्लि मेरो, गडीज्यूला बून्को ।
एक् त चोला चारै दिन्को, त्यैऽ भएन् मून्को ॥
- (७) खैरावाङ्का माइका थान, सुनैका गराला ।
जुन्मदिन्या आमा-बाबू, दैव छन् धराला ॥
- (८) सल्यानका जोलि पिपल्, शारदामा छाया ।
मागी हिँड्नुया जुत्कीडीय ?, किन् लाउँछे माया ॥
- (९) सल्यानको शीतल्पाटी, कर्का गाउँछ गाइन ।
सुन् जोगन्या तराजुमाति, माया जोगन् पाइन ॥
- (१०) रिड्दै घुम्दै गडीज्यूला, बयाल् खेल्लो डाङ्रो ।
साइले ओइन्त्या, तुल्को बर्को, मू पाउनैन भाङ्रो ॥
- (११) शारदाले बगाइल्यायो, ऊवा-जूऽको नल ।
एक् त छाँट्यो करमले, नछाँट् गुङ्गा जल ? ॥
- (१२) गडीज्यूला रुम्चाइ स्वाउन्त्या, केतुकि बारैले ।
घरबार जोडूँ साइ हजूर ?, बसूँला औरैले ॥
- (१३) गडीज्यूला टोवा हाल्यो, नल्-पराल् खत्याउन्त्या ।
मुटटु चिन्त्या मरीजान्छ, बात्ले नपत्याउन्त्या ॥
- (१४) साङ्कोटमा जोली पिपल्, गडीज्यूला छाया ।
धेरै दिन्को भेटु भयो, लाउँत रसी माया ॥

- (१५) सल्यानी राजाको हाती, मन्यो दोबाटैमा ।
यै ऽऽ भूनी लेख्याको रैऽऽछ, कर्म लिलाटैमा ॥
- (१६) शारदाले बगाइ ल्यायो, गुँऽऽ र जूँऽऽको नल ।
लाउँत हजूर? जोडा माया, द्वी बाउलीका बल ॥
- (१७) पत्थर-स्याउली बगाइल्यायो, शारदा खोलाले ।
मृत भुन्छ माया लाउन्या, क्या भून्यो तोलाले? ॥
- (१८) सहः (स)ल्लो ढल्यो सल्यानतिर, साल ढल्यो दाइतिर ।
राम्झो मुहाइ आपै राम्झो, नहेर आइतिर ॥
- (१९) द्वी हात चाँदीका बाला, सल्यानि नानीका ।
अब भर पडन्या छैन, बिमानि जालीका ॥
- (२०) स्हुः(सु)नार दाइको दोकानमा, सुन् कति चोयो हो ।
सल्यान् छोडडा बबै तद्दा, मून् कति रोयो हो ? ॥
- (२१) सल्यानका उकालामा, खिरीखिरे ढाँड ।
कोठरी स्हाँ (साँ) च्याको माया, उज्यालीले बार ॥
- (२२) सल्यानको शीतल्पाटी, गाइन माग्छ बया ।
साइ र मू बयाली खेल्छाउँ, एकै ठाउँमा भया ॥
- (२३) सल्यानको शीतल्पाटी, कर्क गाउँछ गाइन ।
हितैको मायालुसित, माया लाउन पाइन ॥
- (२४) पारि पड्यो खैराबाड, वारि सङ्गुर देव ।
यो मायाऽऽन पै ऽऽले जोग्ने, म्वीले पाइन भेव ।
- (२५) खैराबाड माइका थान, धजा चडाउ तुल्का ।
धौ बिसन्नु हुन लाग्यो, पापिनीका भल्का ॥
- (२६) सल्यानी चाखुडा चद्दा, प्यूठानिका बून ।
मून्को तिखाँ मेटिनैन, नरो नगी मून ? ।
- (२७) कक्कड् भरी कैऽऽले खायो, कक्कड्या सोलीमा ।
माया रैऽऽगो गडीज्यूला, क्या हेछो भोलीमा ।
- (२८) बागले बाखरी मान्यो, चरी चाखुडीमा ।
मू कैऽऽले फर्कुला हजूर?, सल्यान्टाकुरीमा ॥
- (२९) सुनारदाइको दोकानैमा, सुन् कति च्वीयो हो ।
सल्यान् छोडी मूदेश् भड्डा, मून् कति रोयो हो ? ॥
- (३०) बडागाउँको वर-पिपल, छाया त ममै हो ।
मून्त भून्नो राजा ह्वैऽऽजाउँ, हुन्यात कर्म हो ।
- (३१) सल्यानको शीतल्पाटी, बयालु कठीन्या ।
माया लाउन्या तुमी ह्वैऽऽनौ, कलेजी कटौन्या ॥
- (३२) एक कान कन्नफूली, एक कान काप ।
साइको घर सल्यान्चौड, मेरो घर छाप ।
- (३३) घरमौरीय बून्मौरीय, बून्मौरी भोकैछ ।
शारदाको पानी जैथो(जस्तो), हिर्दय चोखैछ ॥
- (३४) माथि पड्यो फलाबाड, तल ल्वामज्यूला ।
हिक्मत नहार बालासाइय?, पछि ज्यान दर्छूला ॥
- (३५) कुमाख चरन आया, जारकोटिका पशु ।
ऊनाडि घरवार जोडी, खान पाइन रसु ॥
- (३६) बजाउन्या बाँसुल्ली मेरो, गडिज्यूला बून्को ।
एकत चोला चारै दिनको, त्यैऽऽ भयोन मून्को ॥

- (३७) छड्क्या भूलो गुन्यू-चोलो, दाड्यूलीमा स्वाउन्या ।
किन आउँछ चाड बाड ?, बैरागिलाई चाउन्या ॥
- (३८) बून्गाड ज्यूली केऽले मान्यो, लाउरु-गाइ बागैले ।
मूनको जोडा को पाउँछ र ?, कर्मको भागैले ॥
- (३९) सल्यानको टाकुरामा, पैऽले थियो गुँऽडा ।
साइको हाम्मो(हाम्रो) न्याय गन्या, हिड्थ्यो पैऽले दौडा ॥
- (४०) कुमाखका अल्का लेख, धसक्क धस्किजा ।
कि फूल ? पैरनु ह्वेऽजा, कि फूल ? मस्किजा ॥
- (४१) गडीज्यूला खेतानैमा, स्हाः(सा) की स्युन्छ जुता ।
दोवाटो हिडनु पड्यो, एता जाउँकि उता ? ॥ इत्यादि ।

(ग) रुकुम जिल्लासम्बन्धी

- (१) मूसीकोटको शेरीगाउँ, घरघर घट्ट ।
क्या मोहनी लायौ साइयौ ?, मू त भयौ लट्ट ॥
- (२) माथि पड्यो रुकुमकोट, तलि मूसीकोट ।
क्येऽ भूनि विराऽको छैन, किन पड्यो चोट ? ॥
- (३) माथि पड्यो सुकिदह, तल शेरी गाउँ ।
मू चिटिक् पठाउँदै रँऽला, क्याहो तुम्मो (तिम्रो) नाउँ ? ॥
- (४) रुकुमको कमल् दह, माछो खेल्छ ताल ।
ठल्क हिड्नु बालिसाइय ?, हाँसी माया जाल ॥
- (५) दायौ बल्ल मूसीकोटको, बाउँ बल्ल बाँफीको ।
क्येऽ तोला क्या जन्मीन छौ, लहैः(लै)जान्या माफीको ॥
- (६) मूसीकोट पानी पड्यो, बादल् रुकुमकोट ।
बन्दूकको गोलि जैथो(जस्तो), लायौ मुटु चोट ॥
- (७) जथाकेको द्यौनिगालो, टूपै भराभरी ।
दिनले होला जेठा-कान्ठा (कान्छा), माया बराबरी ॥ इत्यादि ।

(घ) रोल्पा जिल्लासम्बन्धी

- (१) बाँसैको कलम राम्ङो, रोल्पा लिबाङको ।
गीत गाई माया लाउँ, पैऽला पथथुम (प्रथम)को ।
- (२) रोल्पाली दुमाङकी छोरी, पातुखोला गाउँछे ।
जो तोला कर्ममा छैन, वीऽत खाँति लाउँछे ॥
- (३) गाउन्या छोइया(युबक) नौसयको, छोरेष्टी(युवती) गुनाम्की ।
सात्सालका क्रान्तिमहाँ, साइ हामी हुनाउँ कि ? ॥ (नौसय-दाङ्ग र गुनाम-रोल्पा)

(ङ) प्यूठान जिल्लासम्बन्धी

- (१) प्यूठानको बाङ्गयासाल, न्याउली बास्यो खोला ।
घर छोडी माइतै बस्या, रहुः(सु)म्जी रनु होला ॥
- (२) बालुवामा सुन ल्याया, माडी-भिम्बुकैले ।
मू किन वैरागि भयौ, घरको उमनैले ॥
- (३) दन दन आगो लाग्यो, प्यूठानिका बुन ।
बून्-जुङ्लमा न्याउलि रुन्छ, उदासियो मून । इत्यादि ।
(माडी-रोल्पा र भिम्बुक (धर्मावती नदी) -प्यूठान)

हिउँ, हिमाल, हिमचूली, हिमपात, मेघ, वर्षा र बादलसम्बन्धी

- (१) ह्यूँऽऽ आयो ह्यूँऽऽचूलिबाट, मेग् आयो मालबाट ।
तुम्पो रसल् म्वीऽऽत खाँला, मायाका तालबाट ॥
- (२) ह्यूँऽऽ आयो ह्यूँऽऽचूलिबाट, मेग् आयो मालबाट ।
जूँऽऽका स्हाः(सा)तु खानै पड्यो, स्हुः (सु) मय सालबाट ॥
- (३) ह्यूँऽऽ आयाको थुम्को राम्डो, पाटन् पूरियाको ।
तेरैनिमित्त पानका फूल ?, ज्यू छ भुरियाको ॥
- (४) ह्यूँऽऽचूली सेतै त हुन्छ, खुद्रा खाइहाल्दोछ ।
कस्मेरा कालैत हुन्छ, राजा लाइहाल्दोछ ॥
- (५) ह्यूँऽऽचूलीका बूकि चद्दा, कस्तूरीका पाठा ।
लाटालाटा अल्मलियूँ, गया बाठा बाठा ॥
- (६) ह्यूँऽऽचूलीका डाँप्या उठी, बस्या मारुगोर ।
पैऽऽला पाउ टेक्याको छुँ र ?, निको आयै स्वर ॥
- (७) ह्यूँऽऽचूलीको पुस्होः(सो) डाँप्या, चूचाले जिलीनो ।
क्वीडि जुन लाग्ने माया, ह्यूँऽऽजुन, बिलीनो ॥
- (८) ह्यूँऽऽद राम्डो ह्यूँऽऽचूलिय?, बर्खा राम्डो पुड(ग) ।
आजकालि म्वीऽऽकन भयो, रुनु जुग जुग ॥
- (९) ह्यूँऽऽचूली पियाँलो भयो, घामका रापैले ।
राम् बोल्योकि स्हाँः(सा)चो बोल्यो, कुम्पुनी छापैले ॥
- (१०) ह्यूँऽऽद गाइले तिरन् पाइन, बर्खा गाइ चरिन ।
हाँस्तै खेल्लै जोवन् बाइगो, लहडी गरिन ॥
- (११) ह्यूँऽऽद गाइले पराल खाइन, जेठ पराल पाइन ।
हाँस्तै-खेल्लै जोवन् बाइगो, मूनको भुन्ने भैन ॥
- (१२) ह्यूँऽऽद छाउँला स्हुः(सु)काइ राख, बाडिका करेला ।
एत्ति भेगो दै नस्हुः(सु)म्ज्या, फेरि भेद गर्हेला ॥
- (१३) ह्यूँऽऽद माल बर्खा लेख, भेडापापी धून ।
स्हाः(सा)उन्मा मेग् बस्या जून, किन रुन्छै मून ?॥
- (१४) ह्यूँऽऽद माल बर्खा भोट, पापी धून भेडा ।
आपु खाउँ कि अरु(कन)दिउँ, भकारिका गोडा ॥
- (१५) ह्यूँऽऽचूलीनो ह्यूँऽऽ आउनोछ, दुल्लु खाल् पड्डोछ ।
बाजलाई स्हुः(सु)म्ज्याका बेला, शिरान् ताल् पड्डोछ ॥
- (१६) ह्यूँऽऽद ओल बर्खा भोट, भेडा पापी धून ।
तो रोया मेरो मून रुन्छ, नरो पापी मून ?॥
- (१७) ह्यूँऽऽ आयो ह्यूँऽऽचूलिबाट, मेग् आयो मालबाट ।
मू चिटिक पठाउँदै रूँऽऽला, पछ्युँडि तालबाट ॥
- (१८) हूँ हामी पाखाका मान्ठ(मान्छे), मेग् बस्या त खान्या ।
यैथो भूनी हेपीकन, खोजेर काँऽऽ जान्या ? ॥
- (१९) ह्यूँऽऽचूलीको धूपि स्हः(सः)ल्लो, ह्यूँऽऽदैले दुन्यायो ।
रुझी मेरा माल्-परेवा, को बैरि गुन्यायो ॥
- (२०) माल ? तेरो क्या लाग्नेछ, हिमालका जोड ।
सबालको जवाफ् दयूँला, जति छोड छोड ॥ इत्यादि ।

फूल र वनस्पतिसम्बन्धी

(क) फूल, हार र माला

- (१) उकालाका माल्या बल्ल, ओराला लस्किजा ।
कि फूल ? पैरनु ह्वैऽजा, कि फूल ? मस्किजा ॥
- (२) कृमाखका अग्ला लेख, धसक्क धस्किजा ।
कि फूल ? पैरनु ह्वैऽजा, कि फूल ? मस्किजा ॥
- (३) काली-कुमाउँ चुम्पाओती, अल्मोडा शहर ।
मेरे बाडी फूल फूलैनन्, म्मीऽ मान्नी रथड ॥
- (४) हात्तीसार जल डुब्बो, बीजौरी तालैमा ।
जो फूल लाउँछु वैली जान्छु, नहुन्या पालैमा ॥
- (५) घाँस् पलाई हरियो जुङ्गल, फूल फुल्याकैछ ।
चैतका चाखुडा जुन, मून डुल्याकैछ ॥
- (६) लागिगो बर्खाको ऋतु, फूल म्मीऽले सारिन ।
माइतघर् बस्यो त पुनि, प्वेऽलिघर् पाडिन ॥
- (७) शिरमा लाउन्या शिरको फूल, गला लाउन्या हार ।
भाइ-धतुरो क्यैऽ खानैन, किन बस्यो खार ? ॥
- (८) पेज् किलो फूकेर बाइगो, घुमाउन्या कलको ।
फूल फुल्छ फल लाग्दैन, नखान्या फलको ॥
- (९) कान्ठो भाइ बटौली बाइगो, कैऽले नुगयाको ।
लाउनैन हीराको माला, कर्म नु भयाको ॥
- (१०) खिर्पाटा पानधारा भुन्ना, राम्ढो कालापानी ।
नहन्थेऽ फूलका लुँडा ?, त्यो भेल्याना बानी ॥
- (११) ओलो लाग्दो सुर्खेतको, सरौटो भाडीको ।
क्या बस्यालु रखवाली, मेरा फूलवाडीको ॥ इत्यादि ।

(ख) फूलबारी

- (१) छाउपड्डी अलक्क ज्वाइनी, फूकायाका केश ।
फूलबाडी फूलन्या वेला, बाज् पराया देश ॥
- (२) सालघारीमा सालका पात, भूजेनीमा खर्सू ।
फूलबाडी वेलाउन लाग्यो, मेग् पानीय ? बर्सू ॥
- (३) पिपलको मुन्टो राख, बडलाइ त्यक्तिकै ।
फुल्या हैऽकि फूलबाडीय ?, अबलाई एत्तिकै ॥
- (४) राजाका त फूलबाडीमा, पाकि गया केरा ।
व्हीसैमा वैरागि भयाँ, दिन् जानैनन् मेरा ॥
- (५) सतीको बगाल चन्त्या, भ्वीसो मेरो नेवा ।
फुल्ले रयास् फूलबाडीय ?, मू गरुला सेवा ॥
- (६) हाड् खान गयाको कुकुर, स्हाः (सा) किंघर भुक्छ ।
मलाई देखी वैर माया, फूलबाडीमा लुक्छ ॥
- (७) धान्नि तेल बिसौल धिऊ, बाउन् लाग्यो होम्न ।
बाइर निस्क सुवा मौरी ?, फूलबाडीमा घुम्न ॥
- (८) मकैबाडी मकै भरी, फूलबाडीमा भाडो ।
लीला क्वीरो लाग्याकैछ, स्हाः(सा) क्यो बाङ्गे काँगो ? ॥
- (९) आजकालि रोखालो को छ ?, मेरा फूलबाडिको ।
फूलको थुंगा(मा) मौरी बस्यो, फुल्छ लाल्भाडिको ॥

- (१०) तेरी भवींसी घाँडो लाइजा, सल्यानी कुवर ? ।
फुल्लै रऽऽ फूलका बाडी ?, घुम्दै रऽऽ भुँवर ? ॥
- (११) फूलबयालि खेल्ला थियूँ, ऊ दिन काँऽऽ गया ।
दुःखी-दाल्दी सँदै यैऽऽथै, दुख कसरि भया ॥
- (१२) क्वैऽऽ क्वैऽऽ त गाड्-छालो भुन्ना, क्वैऽऽ क्वैऽऽ त बगड ।
मेरै बाडी फूल फुल्लैनन्, म्वीऽऽ मान्नो रअड ॥
- (१३) राजाका फूलबाडी भित्त, रानी टिप्छन् मेवा ।
आज आउन्था बालासाईलाई, क्या गरूँऽऽत सेवा ॥
- (१४) तूमीसित रुमाउँदा हुन्, डाँप्या र कस्तुरी ।
आउनो हो, फूलको बास, चल्दोऽऽ मन्दहुरी ॥
- (१५) ओलो लागदो सुखेतको, सरौटो भाडीको ।
काँऽऽ बस्यो त रखवाली ?, मेरा फूलबाडीको ॥
- (१६) एका कान आछिनके, सुनका ताडीको ।
आउन-जान छोडिलिस्क्या ?, पाती फूलबाडीको ॥ इत्यादि ।

(ग) पानको फूल

- (१) स्याँकु बुन्दयौ माइला दाज्यू ?, यैऽऽ आउन्था बर्खालाई ।
जगाई बिऽऽन पानका फूल ?, जगाया अक्कालाई ॥
- (२) कुमीले ताछन लाग्यो, तल्ला घरको दाँती ।
नहुन्था पानका फूल ?, नला मलाइ खाँती ॥
- (३) आज म्वीले घाँस् काटिन, खा खा भवींसी खरी ।
पानको फूल बयाल खेल्छ, अष्टयारामा परी ॥
- (४) गोठ भरी लाउरु-पाडा, कतिछन् बगेर्ना ।
बगाइ दिन्छु पानका फूल ?, स्हः(स)किन जगेर्ना ॥
- (५) घर बाडिको ग्यौरा उख्खु, स्हुः(सु)त्ति मलुक्याना ।
किन हो पानैका फूल ?, मलाइ हलुक्याउन्था ॥
- (६) माछी मान्यो माजिदाइले, दबाली बुजेर ।
अरु मूलको पानी पीऽऽन, पानफूल स्हुः(सु)म्जेर । इत्यादि ।

(घ) बूकी र बूकीफूल

- (१) पियाँल् लुँड्या बूकि फूल्यो, पाटनैका डील ।
भोटान बाज् पड्यो भुन्ना, मेरा लेखी चील ॥
- (२) पाटन् घोडी खिलखिलाउनी, बूकीका बासले ।
काँऽऽ थियाँ काँऽऽ सुवा ? आर्यो, बाजका आसले ॥ इत्यादि ।

(ङ) लालीगुराँस, गुराउँसी फूल र काँस

- (१) एक रातो गुराउँसीफूल, भुन् रातो रीबन ।
कैऽऽले हास्नु कैऽऽले रुनु, दुखीको जीवन ॥
- (२) पहाड गुराउँसीफूल, केशर् स्हाः(सा)ददो मौरा ।
फूलको रस पाइन्छ भूनी, घुम्दै आउँछन् गौरा ॥
- (३) रातो गुराउँस् इवैलिफूल, दुर्गा चडाउनलाई ।
नभेट मूकन तोला, माया बगाउनलाई ॥
- (४) लेख फूल्यो लालिगुराँस, ज्यूलि फूल्यो काँस ।
चाँडै लाग् मुइशिर म्वीऽऽना, काँऽऽ जाउँ बर्खामास ॥

- (५) घरपलापियो कघरीनाले, खेती पलापियो काँस ।
राज्य पलापियो कुमन्तरीले, कौवा भरावे हाँस ॥ (लोकोक्ति)
- (६) लागिगो चैतको म्दीऽऽना, गुराउँस फूलनान् ।
चेलाकी सूराइले इजु, मून् आम्ना डुलनान् ॥
- (७) बारै मैऽऽना चीसैचीसो, ट्यूँऽऽ हुन्छ ट्यूँऽऽचूली ।
फागुन्-चैत बूने राता, लालीगुराउँस फूली ॥
- (८) बून् गयूँ काँफल खायूँ, गुराउँस फुलेको ।
काँफल खाँदै लाऽऽको माया, कसरी भूलेको ? ॥ इत्यादि ।

(च) लाँकुरी र हजारी फूल

- (१) पल्लापट्टि सीम्-खोलीछ, ओलतिर नाओली ।
ए मेरी हजारि फूल ? अब भेट काँऽ होली ॥
- (२) बाँदर छउडो लक्कु खेल्छ, द्वी हाँगा बजारी ।
फूल लाउन्या लाँकुडी भैगो, नफुल्यास् हजारी ? ॥
- (३) अयालि बयालि खेल्लो, डाँडाको लाँकुरी ।
ब्बारी स्हाः(सा)इनु मेरो द्वैऽऽन, छोरी हुँ बाबुकी ॥
- (४) लाँकुडीको मूली हाँगो, चडाले टेक्याको ।
कैऽऽले पुनि मेटिनैन, भावीले लेख्याको ॥
- (५) कालो ठेको भन्यानमा, दैऽऽ लाग्यो आसन ।
काँऽ फुल्यो हजारी फूल, हिङ् आयो बासन(ना) ॥
- (६) बाडिका पाति-फूल होकि?, हजारी फूल हो ।
भदौका मलान्या होकि?, सिलान्या मूल हो ॥
- (७) हर्यो(हरियो) बून् पएँला (पहेला) घाम, स्हुः(सु)फिल्लो गजारी ।
तो फुल्लै रऽऽ मू लाउँदै रँऽऽ (रहु) बामास्या हजारी ? ॥
- (८) आऽ का वेला पानी प्युँला, जन स्हुः(सु)क्वैऽऽ मूल ? ।
मेरो स्हूँ(सूँ)राइ मान्नेछैकि, हजारीका फूल ? ॥
- (९) साइका जोडा काँऽ हुनाउ, जोवनकी थोडी ।
मलाइ क्वैऽऽ लाग्दैन होक्या, हजारी फूल गेडी ॥
- (१०) वाडीका हजारी फूल, हल्कला स्हाः(सा)रिजा ।
कि तेरा स्हाः(सा)तैमा ल्हाँ(लै)जा, कि मलाइ मारिजा ॥
- (११) गोर्खापत्र पड्न पाइनो, शिल्गडी गैऽऽरुनु ।
हजारीका भूल बैऽऽनु, पाती-फूल पैऽऽरुनु ॥ इत्यादि ।

(छ) डोइली फूल, दूबो र पाती

- (१) स्हुः(सु)का दाउरा गुराँउसका, आला दाउरा गोल ।
काँऽछै मेरी ड्वैऽऽलिफूलौ ?, न्याँऽ छु भूनि बोल ॥
- (२) इल्छ दूबो भिट्टा पाती, स्हाः(मा)जमै लायाको ।
मेरा लाउन्या ड्वैऽऽलिफूल ?, काँऽछै वैलायाको ॥
- (३) उँदै खोलि जलुक्यानी, स्हाः(स)पले चिल्लाकि ।
साइका शिरैका ड्वैऽऽलिफूल, भाग्यले मिल्लाकि ? ॥
- (४) दूबो र दैऽऽचाउँल पैरी, मुड्यौली आयाकी ।
टाटु माला नाडी बाला, नुथुनि लायाकी ॥
- (५) काला पहाड रेल चल्छोछ, इन्जन्ले तान्छोछ ।
मेरा लाउन्या ड्वैऽऽलिफूल, काँऽ बयाल् खेल्लोछ ॥ इत्यादि ।

(ज) बाँज, गुराउँस र काँस

- (१) लेख फुल्यो बाँज-गुराउँस, ज्यूला फुल्यो काँस ।
चूचा चारो बाँडिखाउँला, हवैऽजाउँ जोलि हाँस ॥
- (२) लेख फुल्यो बाँज-गुराउँस, ज्यूला फुल्यो काँस ।
साइ त हो बेलौरि बाछी, मू पुतलि घाँस ॥
- (३) लेख फुल्यो बाँज-गुराउँस, ज्यूला फुल्यो काँस ।
कसैको करिया हैऽकि ?, ज्यूलिचन्त्या हाँस ॥
- (४) चैत्-बैशाग लामा दिन, गुराउँस फुलनान् ।
फुल्याका बगैचासित, भुमरा डुलनान् ॥
- (५) रानी बून गुराउँस् फुल्या, हरि-प्याँला रुइका ।
भूनुँ त कोसित भूनुँ, कुँडा आम्ना मूनका ॥ इत्यादि ।

(झ) प्याउली फूल

- (१) कर्णालीका तीरैतीर, फूल फुल्यो प्याउली ।
एक त दुखी मूनै थियाँ, भून् दुखी न्याउली ॥
- (२) मेरो जान्या बून-पाखा, फुलि रमाई प्याउली ? ।
मेरा स्हुँ(सुँ) राइले रुन्नान्, जन बास्येऽ न्याउली ? ॥
- (३) ह्युँऽचूलीमा देख्यौं म्दीऽले, चरिलाई नाचन्त्या ।
दैया तुम्मो प्याउली-जोबन्, धेरै नस्हाँ(सा)चन ॥
- (४) एति अल्का हाउडिलेख, फुलिगो प्याउली ।
जेठ-अषाड लामा दिन, खुबै रुन्छ न्याउली ॥
- (५) फुलनान् प्याउली फूल, फुलनान् हजारी ।
देबि-छोताऽ थानमाथि, पुजनान् पूजारी ॥
- (६) स्हौः(सौ)ले पातल् खस्या मस्या, को बाइगइ स्याउलाकी ।
मेरो रैबार् ल्हीऽ(लिइ)दिया, भिट्टाका प्याउलाकी ॥ इत्यादि ।

(ञ) सूर्य फूल (तारा फूल)

- (१) ठुलि भेरी सानी भेरि, भेट भयो रिमनैमा ।
गया जाला यो परानी, सूर्य फूल टिप्नैमा ॥
- (२) साइका भ्वीऽसा खाल बस्या, मू पानी छल्काउन्त्या ।
कैखिहौ सूर्य फूल जैथि(जस्तै), देख्या मून् लल्कुन्त्या ॥
- (३) गलो भया घुमाउँदा हुँ, गीत् भया गाउँदा हुँ ।
बाज् जैथो सूर्य फूल भया, मू कति लाउँदा हुँ ॥
- (४) पात्पाली ढाँकाको टोपी, कोन्याका भुल्भुली ।
अब मेरा क्या काम छौ, सूर्य फूल फुली ॥
- (५) सूर्य फूल फुल्याको भुन्ना, आइगयाँ स्हुँ(सु)न्यार ।
परेवालाई डाकि दिया, मायाजाल् बूनेर ॥
- (६) नौसाल(मा) काट्याका बाटा, हात्तीको लाम् लाग्यो ।
फुलनलाई सूर्य फूल फुल्यो, क्या मेरा काम लाग्यो ॥
- (७) पात्पाको चटनिसंग, प्यूठान् बसी खायो ।
सूर्य फूल फुल्याको स्हुः(सु)नी, दर्शन गन्न आयो ॥
- (८) काँऽ थियो काँऽसुम्म आयो, धेरै दुख पायो ।
सूर्य फूल फुल्याको स्हुः(सु)नी, दर्शन गन्न आयो ॥ इत्यादि ।

(ट) पाती, फूल-पाती र तीत्या पाती

- (१) लाग्यो छ चैतको म्वीऽऽना, पलायो छ पाती ।
मून् नमिल्याऽऽ घरबार भुन्ना, नुभयाकै जाती ॥
- (२) बाटै तलि बाटै माथि, भण्की फुल्यो पाती ।
एक् भौत्या घरबार चाँडै त, पिरती पो जाती ॥
- (३) बाटा मुनी बाटा माथि, फुल्यो तीत्या पाती ।
चाखुइया उछिड्यो हाल्यो, ॥
- (४) ऐऽऽले हाट गोलाघाट, नेपालगुन्ज हाती ।
पैऽऽला पटक खेल्न आयाँ, फूल चडाउँ कि पाती? ॥ इत्यादि ।

(ठ) अरु विभिन्न फूल

- (१) जथाकेको बौऽऽनिगाली, चोया गाडौलि कि ।
टाडैको पिरती भूनी, माया मारिल्यो कि? ॥ (दयौ (देउ) निमाली फूल)
- (२) रोपनेरी छापकी राम्डी, बाउस्या राम्डा मूल ।
स्हा(सा)तै मू ल्हा(लै) जान्या भयाँ, पदमका फूल ? ॥ (पदमको फूल)
- (३) मुदेश(मा) कोइली बास्या, न्याउली बास्या जुन ।
फुल्याका गुलाब जैथी, मेरी माया मून ॥ (गुलाफको फूल)
- (४) लेख फुल्या सन्त फूलका, पानीमुनि जडा ।
छूट् भयाको धेरै भयो, स्हु(सु)म्जु रानीचडा ? ॥ (सन्त फूल)
- (५) बर्खाको असाड म्वीऽऽ ना, फूल फुल्यो भुमारी ।
काई प्वैऽऽ ल दियाकी छैन, माइतकी कुमारी ॥ (भुमारी फूल)
- (६) पछान फूल्यो त पुनि, चूमेली बास् होला ।
बोलिजा चल्या साइबाज ?, फेरीको आस् होला ॥ (चमेली फूल)
- (७) ए माया पिपलु छाया ?, चैत फुल्या जाया ।
न लाया केशरीफूल, मेरो रैजा काया ॥ (जाया र केशरी फूल)
- (८) यारी गाउँ रुमैलो हुनो, तोडि फुलला र ।
भोट-मूदेश् मुखैति आउनो, स्हु(सु)त्ता चलला र ॥ (तोरी फूल)
- (९) राजापुर रुमैलो हुनो, तोडि फुलला र ।
राइसुवा मुखैति आउनी, स्हु(सु)त्ता चलला र ॥ (तोरी फूल)
- (१०) शिलगडि सिलङ्गी फूल्यो, लुङ्गा (लङ्गा) बाइगो बास ।
धुन्य हुन् हिमाली माता, रतनको राश ॥ (सिलङ्गी फूल) इत्यादि ।

अस्तु !

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८. देवकोटा, रत्नाकर, वि.सं. २०५७, "कर्णाली लोकसाहित्यमा चरा-चुरुङ्गी र कीट-पतङ्गको स्थान" *मधुपर्क* (मासिक), वर्ष ३३, अङ्क ७, पूर्णाङ्क ३७६, मार्ग (आवरण लेख) ।
९. देवकोटा, रत्नाकर, वि.सं. २०५७, "कर्णाली लोकसाहित्यमा विभिन्न जन्तु-जनावरको स्थान" *उत्सुक पाइला* (अर्द्ध वार्षिक), वर्ष १, अङ्क २,, बैशाख, जुम्ला: जुम्लेली युवा साहित्य समाज ।
१०. देवकोटा, रत्नाकर, वि.सं. २०५९, "लोकसाहित्यभित्र बगिरहेका पश्चिम नेपालका नदीहरू, *जनमत* (मासिक), वर्ष १९, अङ्क ३-४, पूर्णाङ्क ८६, बैशाख, काभ्रेपलाञ्चोक: बनेपा ।
११. देवकोटा, रत्नाकर, "लोकसाहित्य र कर्णाली अञ्चलका हिमालय एवं पर्वतमाला", *कर्णालीको सन्देश* (साप्ताहिक), वर्ष ३, अङ्क ४, २०५९/९/१० देखि क्रमशः ३ अङ्कसम्म, जुम्ला ।
१२. देवकोटा, रत्नाकर, वि.सं. २०५९, "कर्णाली लोकसाहित्यभित्रको चिन्तनका विविध पक्ष" *मिमिरे* (मासिक), वर्ष ३१, अङ्क १०, पूर्णाङ्क २०९, माघ, काठमाडौं ।
१३. पाण्डे, गोविन्दप्रसाद (जुम्ला), वि.सं. २०६०, *देउडा: विगतदेखि वर्तमानसम्म*, जुम्ला ।
१४. योगी, नरहरिनाथ (सम्पा.), वि.सं. २०२१, "आशु कवि रत्नाकर, गजेन्द्रबहादुर शाह, मदनराज रेग्मी, अमरबहादुर कार्की र चन्द्रबहादुर शाहको सङ्कलन" *हिमाली लोकसाहित्य*, मालिका मेला श्रावणी ।
१५. श्रेष्ठ, हरिप्रसाद, त्रिवेणी गा.वि.स . ओडा नं. ७ ल्वाम (ल्वाम) वजार, सल्यान ।
१६. यस लेखकको निजी सङ्कलन र निर्माण ।

REVIEW ARTICLE

Rana, Prabhakar S.J.B., Pashupati S.J.B. Rana, Gautam S.J.B. Rana 2003. *The Ranas of Nepal*. New Delhi: Timeless Books, 272 pp. 178 colour illustrations and 140 B/W. 1 map. ISBN: 2-8313-0374-5. NRs 5,600.

This lavishly produced volume was published in India (but printed at Jagadamba Press in Nepal) a year after the original Swiss edition.¹ The book is the work of many hands, including Prashant Panjari as photographer and Brindat Datta as designer, but it is primarily the work of three prominent members of the Rana clan. Prabhakar Shamsher is a great-grandson of Maharaja Juddha Shamsher and a highly successful businessman with interests in the hotel industry, hydro-electric power, tobacco and other fields. Pashupati, a grandson of Mohan Shamsher, is now a leader of the Rastriya Prajatantra Party as well as scholar and businessman. Gautam, a great-grandson of Chandra and nephew of Gorkha Parishad (and then Nepali Congress) leader, Bharat Shamsher. The title page carries acknowledgements to Rani Juni of Silla, who apparently inspired the project, and there are prefaces by the heirs to the royal houses of Mewar and Kashmir and to that of the central European state of Moldavia. The book is thus very much a production by the Nepalese aristocracy, stressing both their status within Nepal and also their links to their counterparts in India and beyond.

As one would expect from the coffee-table format, the book's strongest point is its illustrations. Some of the historic photographs reprinted here have been published before, in volumes such as Padma Prakash Shrestha's *Nepal Rediscovered* or Adrian Sever's *Nepal under the Ranas* but this new collection is a particularly impressive one. First, many of the illustrations are in colour, including both reproductions of conventional oil paintings and also monochrome photographs to which colour was added by hand; the latter was a natural development seeing that it was the Chitrakars, traditionally court painters, who also took many of the early photographs. Second, there are many particularly interesting illustrations which this reviewer at least has not come across before. These include the portrait of Mohan Shamsher with his many Indian in-laws on the occasion of his inauguration as Maharaja in 1948, a painting of the surrender of Nepalese forces to Ochterloney's expeditionary force at Makwanpu; another of Chandra Shamsher in the front rank of the Indian princes at the 1911 Delhi Darbar; and a photograph of Chandra bowing as he shakes hands with George V. This last gesture, of course, was not an acknowledgement of British sovereignty over Nepal but rather of the

king-emperor's status as head of state. Chandra himself, autocrat though he was in practice, was technically subordinate to the Shah king.

The text includes accounts of the Ranas' general life style, their eating habits, palace architecture, big game hunting, wedding ceremonies and other rituals, with essays on individual topics by one or other of the two senior authors whilst Gautam Shamsher contributes a section on their jewellery collection. Past and present are blended together in both texts and photographs, with pictures of weddings half a century or more ago juxtaposed with recent ones and Pashupati Shamsher and Prabhakar Shamsher adding personal childhood memories to more conventional cultural history. Among the most interesting modern material is a series of photographs of the biennial ceremony at the Panchayani Temple which involves the descendants of all seven original Kunwar brothers, whilst the fascinating vignettes from an earlier era include the account of ritual Dasain gambling in Singha Darbar, when vast sums were won or lost on the toss of a few corrie shells and debts settled the following morning by transporting cartloads of coins between the Rana residences. Pashupati Shamsher rightly stresses the contrast between the Ranas' westernised consumer habits (criticised from early on by nationalistically-inclined intellectuals) and their continuing adherence to a strongly traditionalist Hinduism. Right up until 1950, for example, English-educated Maharajas would still ritually purify themselves after shaking the hand of *mlecchas* such as the British ambassador. Here one might add the point made strongly by Mark Liechty, that foreign objects were valued not so much for their intrinsic attractiveness as because the elite's own superior status was confirmed by their access to something beyond the reach of the mass of the population. Much the same could be said of the earlier vogue in court circles both Nepal and other Hindu states for Moghul dress, or the preference for French fashions amongst 18th century European aristocrats.

In the context of borrowings from western culture the authors might also have said a little more about the introduction to Nepal of photography itself, a subject analysed in detail by Pratyoush Onta (1998). The book does mention that Damber Shamsher, the Shamsher brother, who fired the first shot in the 1885 murder of their uncle Maharaja Ranoddip Singh, was probably also the first Nepalese photographer. It is silent, however, on the role of Clarence Taylor, the assistant resident who took the first photographs in Nepal in 1863 and for whom Jang Bahadur and other members of the political elite were immediately willing to pose.

The book begins with just over a hundred pages by Pashupati Shamsher briefly summarising Npal's earlier history and then giving an account of the Rana era itself. This is competently done, though, not surprisingly given the

complexity of the subject, there are a number of mistakes or questionable interpretations on points of detail. In his treatment of Jang's violent seizure of power in September 1846, the author states boldly that King Rajendra was behind the murder of Gagan Singh, which triggered the whole episode. Most historians in fact now believe that Jang Bahadur and other ministers in the coalition were either assisting the king in this or were themselves the originators of the assassination. The account of the Kot Massacre itself (pp. 39-40) has the violence start with the cutting down by one of Jang Bahadur's brothers of the son of prime minister Fateh Jang. In fact, it probably started with a volley of shots that hit Fateh Jang himself and two other ministers as they climbed steps to the room where Queen Rajyalakshmi Devi was waiting. This latter version was given in a report to Calcutta a few months after the events by the British Resident, probably the only full account independent of Jang Bahadur and his supporters.

In discussing the background to the Shamshers' 1885 coup (p.54), it is suggested that the eldest of the brothers was having an affair with Lalit Kumari, the mother of the infant King Prithvi, and that Khadga Shamsher was similarly involved with Deep Kumari, Lalit's full sister and the wife of a cousin of the king. Bir certainly got on well with Lalit Kumari, with whom he had been brought up in Jang Bahadur's household. However, Kashinath Acharya Dixit, a priest attached to Deep Kumari's household, wrote in his memoirs that it was Khadga who was particularly close to both sisters and only suggested an improper relationship between Khadga and Deep Kumari (Dixit 1974/5:5, 13). Reconstructions of court intrigue are always conjectural, but Dixit's version is the one accepted by the leading modern authority on the period (Manandhar 186: 89).

There are similar small slips in the account of the Shamsher maharajas. Top Kumai was the name of Bir's Newar concubine, not of her rival, his original senior queen (p.58). It is only conjecture, not established fact that Chandra Shamsher's discussed his plans with Lord Curzon before the 1901 overthrow of his brother Dev (p.65), although he did certainly hint at his intentions in a letter to Col. Wylie, a former British resident. The author is probably also wrong in claiming that 200,000 Nepalis fought on the British side in World War 1. This is an oft-quoted figure, originating from a speech made in Kathmandu in 1923 by another British resident, but the actual total may have been nearer half this (Onta 1996: 104-6, cited in Chalmers 2003).

Dates are also occasionally inaccurate. Jang Bahadur's seizure of power is dated to 1845 on p. 40 (though 1846 had been given correctly two pages earlier) and the photo of the inauguration of the equestrian statue of Jang Bahadur on the Tundikhel, on pages 114-15, dates from 1884, not 1854. Finally, on pp.204-5, the marriage of Sharad Shamsher's daughter to a son of

the Maharaja of Jaisalmer is variously placed in April 1950, October 1950 (by implication) and also in 1951!

These are relatively minor matters but Pashupati Shamsher's narrative does also take controversial approaches on some fundamental issues concerning the Rana period and its significance in Nepalese history. To start with the basic question of who Nepal's Ranas actually are, he accepts uncritically the truth of the legend that the Kunwars (as they were known in Nepal before 1849) were descended from a cadet branch of the ruling house of Mewar in Rajasthan. The reader new to the subject would thus remain blissfully unaware that such claims of a connection to prestigious Indian Rajput families were widespread in the Himalayas and that modern scholars are very dubious about their authenticity (Whelpton 1987). We can be certain that Jang Bahadur's great-grandfather, Ahiram Kunwar, did move from Kaski to Gorkha in the 18th century but no reliance can be put on family legends about their earlier history and the best guess must be that they were basically of Khas extraction.

In dealing with the Ranas' record as rulers, Pashupati, not unexpectedly, is often concerned to argue a case for the defence. This is particularly the case when he discusses his own immediate relatives, including his great-grandfather, Chandra, his grandfather, Mohan ('generous to a fault and the only Rana ruler unwilling to make personal use of state coffers') and his 'brilliant' father Bijay. He argues that the ruthlessness and autocratic nature of the early Rana maharajas have to be seen in the context of their times and the contributions made by both Jang Bahadur and Chandra to strengthening and consolidating the Nepalese state should be acknowledged. He sees the great failure in Rana statesmanship as the inability of later rulers to move with the times – a charge which Pashupati Shamsher allows against his grandfather, even though lauding some of his personal qualities.

There has for many years been a 'revisionist' trend in Nepalese historiography questioning the kind of blanket condemnation of the Rana regime prevalent in the early years after 1951 and so many of the points that the author makes would be quite widely accepted. The contrast between the earlier and later parts of the Rana period is a valid one, and the author is also right to give Chandra credit for securing the UK's unequivocal recognition of Nepal's independence; to point out that it was the British opening of a rail route to Darjeeling, not Chandra's collaboration with the Younghusband expedition, which dealt the fatal blow to the Kathmandu Valley's entrepôt trade; and to praise Juddha's reconstruction efforts after the 1934 earthquake.

However, the author does go rather too far in his rehabilitation of Chandra. Whilst citing his foundation of Trichandra College as a constructive move, he fails to point out that a major aim was probably to reduce the numbers of wealthy Nepalese sending their sons to study in the increasingly radicalised atmosphere on campuses in Calcutta and other Indian universities.

He also claims that Chandra's abolition of slavery was accompanied by 'an immaculately well-planned programme for resettlement of the freed' (p.78). In fact, this was no more the case in 1924 than with the emancipation of the *kamaiyas* in 2000. As a recent study has shown, very few of the sixty thousand freed slaves accepted Chandra's offer of land in the unhealthy environment of Amalekhgunj ('Emancipationville') in the Tarai and the majority remained in de facto dependence on their former masters (Whyte 1998).

A policy of close co-operation with British India characterised the Rana regime from beginning to end. There was, however, also an initial wariness on Jang Bahadur's part and, although, throwing his support behind the British in the 1857 crisis, he obstructed British efforts to expand recruiting for their Gurkha regiments. Pashupati Shamsher credits Ranoddip with reaching an understanding with the British on this issue and he was indeed more accommodating than Jang had been. However, Ranoddip had given way reluctantly, and the book fails to point out that it was with the Shamshers' takeover in 1885 that full collaboration with the British became the norm. With Jang Bahadur's surviving sons in exile in India, Bir Shamsher was in no position to withstand British pressure for greater assistance but, in addition, the English-educated Shamshers did not share the intense suspicion of British intentions that characterised Jang and Ranoddip as it had earlier Nepalese leaders.

Pashupati Shamsher argues that collaboration with the British served Nepal's national interests down to the recognition of country's full independence in 1923 but that Juddha was unwise to commit Nepal's resources to the defence of a weakening British Empire in 1939-45. We are, of course, on very shaky ground trying to speculate what might have been had Chandra and Juddha made different decisions, particularly as we first have to decide whether we think Britain and her allies would still have won the global struggles without Nepal's substantial assistance. If, for example, Nepalese neutrality had tipped the military balance and allowed a Japanese invasion of India, would an authoritarian government under Subhas Chandra Bose have respected Nepalese independence or regarded it as princely state to be liberated and brought under New Delhi's control as Tibet was under Beijing's? However, there is certainly evidence that some of the Rana elite were afraid Juddha was backing the wrong horse. In contrast, Juddha himself is portrayed in most sources as always confident in the outcome, but there is evidence that he, too, had doubts, actually asking for the Gurkhas to be kept out of the Burma campaign lest their participation put Nepal in danger of Japanese retaliation (Cross 2002: 10).

Bijay Shamsher, Pashupati Shamsher's father, was a key figure in the negotiations with India during the 1950-51 crisis. His son portrays him as an

advocate of compromise and a member of a soft-line faction including his uncle, Krishna, who had been an assistant to Maharaja Padma and went into voluntary exile after Mohan took over in 1948. The importance of Bijay's personal role in the internal debate is perhaps exaggerated but the overall account is plausible and more or less tallies with that of Rishikesh Shaha, whose version of these events (Shaha 1990: II, 204-40) is the best yet published. Shaha was himself an associate of Padma Shamsher, and later a member of the Nepali Democratic Congress, but relied to some extent on information from Kaiser Shamsher, brother of Mohan and Krishna and one of the conservative groups who Pashupati Shamsher sees as vying with the progressives for Mohan's support. Both authors agree that had the Ranas added to the 1948 constitution a commitment to fully representative government as a long-term aim, this would have been sufficient to prevent the Indian government from throwing in its lot with the anti-Rana dissidents.

After Tribhuvan's flight to India and the Nepali Congress's launching of an armed struggle, Pashupati Shamsher, like many others, sees the defection of the Palpa garrison in January 1951 as the decisive event. It is, though, clear from Shaha's account that even before the end of 1951 the regime was already veering towards acceptance of the return of King Tribhuvan. This perhaps strengthens the likelihood that apprehension by individual Ranas that their assets in India might be confiscated was an important consideration.

Pashupati Shamsher presents Bijay as a progressive not only in the politics of 1945-1950 but also in earlier discussions on economic policy under Juddha. He claims that he wanted to mobilise the private fortunes of the Rana elite for industrial development in Nepal. More detailed research would be needed to substantiate this, but in any case Juddha's hopes for industrialisation were dependent on securing suitable tariff arrangements with India, and this was never achieved.

In his concluding reflections on the regime, the author argues that, though exploitative, it did succeed in maintaining law-and-order, in dramatic contrast to Nepal's current situation. This assertion is a fair one, but the additional claim that 'no hint of corruption' was tolerated needs to be qualified. Corruption in the sense of clandestine and illegal diversion of public money to individual government employees was negligible in comparison to today, but not entirely unknown. More importantly, the practice of the reigning maharaja treating any surplus of revenue over current expenditure as his personal income might itself be regarded as corruption on a grand scale. In addition, the demands which officials were permitted to make openly on ordinary citizens could be as vexatious as demands for under-the-table payments made by their more modern counterparts.

Although the 'History' section stops at 1951, the book includes material on the prominent life still played by many Ranas in public life, including profiles of the authors and some of their relatives in an additional chapter authored by Dubby Bhagat and Nikesh Sinha. A glaring omission is any mention of the relationship between Pashupati Shamsher's daughter Devyani and Crown Prince Dipendra and its role in the build-up to Dipendra's massacre of family members in 2001. Devyani is not even named, in the book, which refers only to Pashupati Shamsher's 'two daughters'. The personal and political reasons for passing over so much in silence are readily understandable and, indeed, readers may suspect that one motive behind the writing of the book was to provide some favourable publicity for the family to offset the tragic events of three years ago. However, even that aim might perhaps have been better served by briefly acknowledging those events rather than ignoring them.

The book would also have been improved if the tone had been a little less self-congratulatory, with an acknowledgement that the present-day Ranas must accept a share of responsibility for the country's present condition. This is not because they are Ranas but simply because they are now members of a broader elite which has failed to overcome the challenges presented to Nepal after 1951.

Overall, *The Ranas of Nepal* is a useful addition to the literature and has certainly proved a best-seller— a second Indian edition has already been released. However, those seeking a general introduction to Rana history are still better served by the work of Rishikesh Shaha (1990), Ludwig Stiller (1993) and Adrian Sever (1993).

— John Whelpton

Note

- 1 Geneva: Naef.Kister (for Credit Suisse), 2002. ISBN: 2-8313-0377-x. Approx. NR 8,250. The book is also published in French as: *Nepal – art et civilisation des Rana*. Geneva: Naef.Kister, 2002. ISBN: 2-8313-0374-5. Euros 44.50. The Indian edition is available leather-bound at NR 7,200.

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BOOK REVIEW

Schumann, H. W. 2004. *The Historical Buddha: Life and Teachings of the Founder of Buddhism*. Translated by M. O'C Walshe. Delhi: Motilal Benarsi Dass Publisher (First Indian Edition), Bibliography, Index, Maps, Sketches, Diagrams, pp. XVII + 274, Price IRs. 295.

This book exclusively deals with life and teachings of the historical Buddha. It is an invaluable work about Gautam Buddha covering the themes such as early career, foundation of Buddhism, teachings and the mission, doctrine, psychological aspect of the historical Buddha and his great decease. This book is a proof of western scholarship on historical Buddha. The entire book is based on both Buddhist and non-Buddhist sources, which cover varied aspects of the Buddha and Buddhism.

Very few historical personalities have long lasting impression as that of Gautam Buddha. His way provided an alternative path to many aspirants to overcome sufferings and attain enlightenment. Buddha's entire teachings are so practical that the first teachings delivered at Sarnath in 528 BC continue to give beneficent effects even at the present time. Thus, his timeless teachings are worthy of attention.

The value of this book is attributed to the fact that both non-historical Buddhas and their past is not dealt in this book. Therefore, the author has laid emphasis on historicity of events, which are given rightful place in the discussion.

One of the main features of this book is that the philosophical-religious system aiming at attainment of enlightenment for oneself or for the welfare of all the sentient beings taught by the Buddha in the contemporary Indian society for almost forty five years, is dealt very perfectly in the book. However, the author did not concentrate on philosophical aspects but more concerned with bibliographical facts and relationships. Although Buddhist and non-Buddhist sources are used in this book, *Pali Tripitaka* is used as the main source of history.

The book is divided into 8 sections starting from scenario before the birth of Gautam Buddha. A special focus is laid upon his early career, foundation of the order, Buddhist mission, psychological aspect of the historical Buddha, his last years, the great decease (passing away of the Buddha), Buddhist Councils and the Pali canon.

The book opens with discription of landscape of contemporary Northern Indian plain between the foothills of the Himalaya and the banks of river, Ganga and political scenario in the 6th century B.C.

Since this book is on the historical Buddha, it obviously deals with his life history and contemporary society. The other chapters focused on are foundation of the Buddhist order and Buddhist mission started by the Buddha himself. His activities as a religious Master during his entire life are dealt in separate chapter.

The author also lays emphasis on dealing with his doctrine, the Buddhist order and the lay society. A separate chapter also deals with his personality, emotional disposition and the way he dealt with his followers. In the final chapter, his final departure and councils and Buddhist canons are described. It excludes all other non-historical Buddhas from its discussion list.

The author has done utmost effort to make the book authentic in terms of historiography. For this purpose, he has made best use of the *Tripitaka*, Buddha's biographies and other Buddhist and non-Buddhist works. The variety of evidence used so far makes the book very authentic. However, some minor mistakes and certain weaknesses still crop up in some places. Since the book is a historical narrative, the author has ruled out all sorts of legends in interpretation. This step is rather logical. In fact, historical kernel could not be detected in legendary accounts.

This book is one of the authentic biographies of the Buddha. It not only deals with his biography but also gives accounts of contemporary history and society. Although this book is very useful to know history of Buddhism with special focus on the Master, it still has some drawbacks. It has some factual errors. Modern Lumbini has been historically proved as the birth place of the Buddha for which Indians claim to be located in India. Thus, modern Rupandehi is misspelled as *Rumindeai*. It could create some kind of historical controversy. The translation of the Lumbini pillar inscription of Emperor Ashoka does not fit exactly in the context of recent interpretations done by the native historians.

However, the book is an example of scholarly work ever produced on the achievement of the Master of peace, the compassionate Buddha.

– Shanker Thapa